1;Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
AX5 Vedda AX5

shorter ceremony *ruwela*, this being an older name than *kolamaduwa*[1]. 535 751

It appeared that the invocations at present in use among the Kovil Vanamai Veddas were those used in the old man's youth, for although he had not, as he stated (truthfully we believe), been closely associated with the Veddas for many years he recognised a number of Vedda invocations which were sung to him, as identical with those sung in his youth, and named the occasions on which each was used. *Maligi* was recognised as sung when honey was taken; the invocation at the beginning of the *kirikoraha* ceremony (cf. p. 285) was promptly named, and the occasions of its use pointed out, but the charm used when driving monkeys was not recognised. A song sung for amusement by the Veddas beginning *Mamini mamini ma deyo* was immediately recognised, as were two of the invocations of the Kolamaduwa ceremony, but considering how Sinhalese in substance this ceremony is this is perhaps not of much importance. 782●

At the present day the number of Veddas living their natural forest life is necessarily few, for their territory has been gradually encroached upon by the Sinhalese who are inveterate poachers. The Veddas, who were never numerous within recent historic times, are now rapidly dying out, while many have settled among the Sinhalese and so lost their identity. We met with only four families who still led the life described by Bailey in 1863, and these were not among the Nilgala but among the Nuwaragala Hills. At Nilgala itself there are no Veddas at the present day, though the local peasant Sinhalese doubtless have much Vedda blood in their veins. The Henebedda and Danigala Veddas are the descendants of those recorded by Bailey in 1863, and the Kovil Vanamai Veddas are the descendants of those known and described by the old Kandyan who visited us at Bandaraduwa. 161

Hennebedda. At Hennebedda we met a number of families living together in the Bendiyagalge caves. They had come to this their largest cave, from several settlements all within a few hours' journey. The genealogies show that at least 166 563

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[1] These ceremonies are described in Chapter IX.

slipping. Such ceremonial arrows are generally heirlooms, not 411
necessarily passing from father to son but rather being handed 778
down in apostolic succession from shaman to shaman, and [523
among the village Veddas of Bintenne I have handled one such 428]
blade with a history running back for five generations.

Figure 8 shows two ceremonial arrows which we were able to collect. Besides these we saw similar *aude* at Omuni and were told at Sitala Wanniya that Handuna had formerly possessed one. Rutimeyer has figured one of these ceremonial arrows about 14 inches long, obtained from Kaira the "senior" of the Danigala Veddas. These arrows are carefully preserved by the shaman, and just as he himself observes certain dietetic rules,
avoiding eating pig and fowl which are supposed to be particularly [783
repulsive to the *yaku*, so among those more sophisticated com-
munities who believe in the periodical uncleanliness of women,]
special precautions are taken to avoid the possible contamination of the *aude*[1]. This is generally done by keeping them in some comparatively remote spot such as a cave or in the roof thatch. It is necessary that the shaman should hold one of these arrows in his hand when invoking Kande Yaka; he should also have one for Bilindi Yaka, though as a matter of practice Kande Yaka and Bilindi Yaka were often invoked using the same *aude*, another *aude* being reserved for invoking the *Nae Yaku*. Both arrows were, however, commonly held in the hands during the whole of the *Nae Yaku* ceremony, but in spite of this no confusion seemed to arise nor had the onlookers the least difficulty in saying which *aude* belonged to Kande Yaka whenever they were asked.

The offering of rice in the pot would be stirred with the *aude*, 411
and betel leaves might be ceremonially transfixed with it. Among 778
the Veddas of Unuwatura Bubula the testing of the quality of 782
the food provided for the *yaku* was performed with the help of the *aude*, the shaman possessed by Kande Yaka using the *aude* to remove from the pot a few grains of rice which the *yaka* in the person of the shaman several times examined before expressing his approval of the offering provided.

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[1] The belief in the periodical uncleanliness of women has been borrowed from the Sinhalese. It did not exist in the "wildest" group we met with, on the other hand we found it among all the more sophisticated Veddas, attaining a maximum where these had come under foreign influence.

775 Besides the important part in the Vedda cult of the dead played by the propitiation of the *Nae Yaku*, and of the *yaku* of certain other Veddas such as Kande Wanniya who as *yaku* have attained to special importance (approaching that of culture heroes in other forms of belief), there is a certain feeling of reverence for a host of unnamed *yaku*. Little attention is paid to these but, since it is stated that they too were once men, the suggestion may be hazarded that they represent the *yaku* of the forgotten dead. These *yaku*, although all around in the jungle, are in some instances thought of as vaguely attached to special localities, especially to glades in the forest, unusually large trees, and above all large rocks and rocky hilltops. The *yaku* of rocks and hilltops, indeed, tend to become named, taking the name of the hill they inhabit; even among the less civilised Veddas they are sometimes identified with the *yaku* of Vedda headmen who have lived on or near the hills. On the other hand among the more sophisticated Veddas these *yaku* tend to become less and less the spirits of dead Veddas, and finally, under Tamil influence, are thought of as dangerous spirits, immigrants from beyond the Ocean, each of whom with a female of his own species haunts the hilltops and sends disease. Somewhat akin to these *yaku* in their less dangerous forms are the *kiriamma* (literally milk mothers, i.e. grandmothers), the *yaku* of Vedda women, generally the wives of Vedda headmen or chiefs, many of whom are thought of as haunting the sides and tops of hills where there are rocks and springs. They are sometimes jealous of people gathering honey—indeed there is a [222 tendency to avoid rocky mountain tops on their account—but 769] may be placated by a charm, though occasionally a little honey is left for them with a muttered *kapau kiriammala*—Eat O [253] Kiriamma. Although they retain the fondness for children which they felt in their lifetime they not infrequently send sickness, at least among the more sophisticated Veddas.

A few *kiriamma* have become rather important *yaku*, notably an old woman of the Unapane clan now known as Unapane Kiriamma, but such *kiriamma* do not appear to be especially associated with rocky or hilly sites.

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782 We are now in a position to discuss the possible evolution of

such specially important *yaku* as Kande Yaka and Bambura 769 Yaka who may without exaggeration be said to have attained 782 the position of heroes. It has been stated on p. 126 that according to certain Veddas not all the dead become *yaku* but only the spirits of specially important men or those who during life have the power of summoning the *yaku* to them. Further, the general impression we gathered was that the stronger the personality of the dead man, the more powerful and important was his *yaka*, and it may well be that the *yaka* of a particularly strong or skilled individual may be remembered by name and continue to receive offerings, even after the death of those near relatives to whom the spirit is one of the most important of the Nae Yaku on account of the blood bond between them. This appears to have happened in the case of Panikkia Yaka invoked at the present day by the Henebedda Veddas, and we shall now attempt to trace the history of this spirit.

It was stated in the first chapter that a number of the Veddas were politically organized in the 16th century and that one of the most important of their chiefs, described in a contemporary manuscript as Panikki the Vedda, was appointed to the high office of Bandara Mudiyanse. Further, it is recorded that Panikki the Vedda caught elephants and took them to the king. Now at Henebedda at the present day Panikki Yaka is invoked in the Kolomaduwa ceremony to avert sickness alike from man and cattle, and to confer prosperity on villages and cattlefolds. Those Veddas, a minority, who know anything of this *yaka*, state that he is the spirit of a long dead Vedda who was especially skilled in capturing buffalo, and who on account of his great knowledge of jungle craft is still able to confer safety and jungle favour on those invoking him.

In Chapter 1 we have mentioned that the Vedda cult of the dead has infiltrated the beliefs of the Sinhalese, and we will now give some details of the Bandar cult to which we there alluded. Concerning this Mr Parker writes: "It is a common practice of the Kandian Sinhalese of that part of the country to make offerings to the spirits of the deceased chiefs and important ancestors......

"They are all classed as Yakas by the Sinhalese and are

ADDENDUM.

The following translation of the invocation of Godegedara Bandara has been prepared by Mr Parker from a manuscript given me in Ceylon by the Arachi of Potuliyadde. 762 539

The Song of the God Godegedara.

1. He is a god of a distant country in the Uva region,
Having come to this side in the Wellassa region,
Having raised my joined hands to my head I worship (him) that there may be good luck.
He is coming, I shall say, the God of (this) region.

2. Is not every one staying in (some) place?
Having died in its heart what pulse will ripen?
The God sleeps in the upper heavens.
The God Godegedara is coming.

3. For an endless time being on the watch we utter songs to the God.
Should there be mistakes (in them) in the name of charity (or merit) pardon the mistakes.
Endlessly songs are sung accompanied by beating of the five (kinds of) tom-toms.
The God Godegedara is powerful (enough) even to give a tusk elephant.

4. When it rises the dusk of the moon lights up the round universe and Dambadiva (India).
The God Godegedara appears like an inextinguishable lamp (lit. a lamp with its fire enduring by (divine) orders for many years).
The hair of his head sports in the midst of his back like the play of golden rays acting as his retinue.
Should King Godegedara come to the seat I shall now receive the betel altar (i.e. the offering will be made, and the officiator will then get the betel which has been offered).

"In the last line there is some doubt about the title of Godegedara; either the expression *deva*(*na*) *devi* means king, that is literally 'god of the earth,' or *deva* has been written by mistake."

621 771 To illustrate and prove these propositions we must examine in detail the beliefs of some of the communities in which each stage is respectively dominant. The Veddas met at Godatalawa and Sitala Wanniya form the best example of the first stage of belief. In comparing their beliefs it must, however, be remembered that the Godatalawa family have drifted away from their hunting grounds and are in dire want, and that their oldest man and leader (now quite infirm though still mentally vigorous) was never a shaman and consequently could give only the lay opinion of his group on religious matters. It must then not be assumed that no spirits beyond the *Nae Yaku*, Kande Yaka, and Bilindi Yaka were known to the shaman of the Galmeda community, although the fact that the laymen only knew of these spirits shows how vastly more important they were than any other.

The Sitala Wanniya people, on the other hand, were living in a condition which must have been general from ancient times up to about 70 years ago. Four of the five families had never made even rough chena or built bark houses, but lived on game, honey and yams and wandered about from rock-shelter to rock-shelter within their territory.

At Godatalawa Kande Yaka and Bilindi Yaka were both
776 known though they were not recognised as brothers, and Kande
782 Yaka was said to be greater than all other *yaku*. They are
the two principal *yaku* invoked in order to obtain game, but
with them there are invoked three other *yaku*, who, it was
stated, are not the spirits of the dead but have existed as *yaku*
from the beginning. These were, however, of little importance,
and our informant, an old man the senior of the group but not
a shaman, did not remember their names. Kande Yaka and
Bilindi Yaka would be invoked in order to obtain game at the
[224] *kirikoraha* ceremony, or simply when dancing round an arrow
struck in the ground. These dances were not in gratitude for
game already killed, but when the hunting had been successful,
pieces of flesh from the neck and chest of the kill were cooked
on the ashes and Kande Yaka and Bilindi Yaka were invoked
to come to this offering which a few minutes later would be
consumed by the Veddas. If part of the meat were not thus

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presented to Kande Yaka the hunters would expect bad luck 782 in future, and might even be bitten by snakes or attacked by bears.

The *Nae Yaku* are the spirits of the dead, they must report 775 themselves to Kande Yaka as the chief of all the *yaku* and from 782 him obtain permission to help the living and accept their offerings. 769 Kande Yaka comes to the *Nae Yaku* ceremonies since the spirits of the dead could not be present without him. It was definitely stated that the spirits of the dead did not become *yaku* until the fifth day after death, but my informant knew nothing of the state of the spirits during this period though it was surmised that at least part of the time would be passed in seeking Kande Yaka or in his company, though there was no idea as to where Kande Yaka had his being. It was however stated, that the spirits of the dead were in hills, caves and rocks. The *Nae Yaku* including the spirit of the dead man are invoked on the fifth day after death. An offering is made of coconut milk and rice, if these are obtainable; but if not one consisting of yams and water is substituted. The shaman dances, holding in his hand a big ceremonial arrow for which no special name could be elicited, while the remainder of the community gather round. The shaman invokes the *Nae Yaku* and also Kande Yaka and Bilindi Yaka. The shaman becomes possessed and is supported lest he fall while the spirit of the deceased promises that yams, honey, and game shall be plentiful. He then sprinkles coconut milk or water from the offering on the relatives of the deceased as a sign of the spirit's favour. One or more of the relatives of the dead man may also become possessed. The shaman gives the relatives water and yams, putting their food into their mouths himself while he is possessed, and it appeared that this might cause the relatives to become possessed. At the end of the ceremony he asks the *Nae Yaku* to depart to where they came from and the spirits leave the offering.

Nothing was known concerning the Kataragam God or the 776 *kolamadua* ceremony, though our informants said that they had 796 heard of other Veddas performing this ceremony. Gale Yaka was not known, nor yet Wanagata Yaka.

At Sitala Wanniya the principal *yaku* are Kande Yaka,
776 Bilindi Yaka, Bambura Yaka and the *Nae Yaku*. According
773 to these people Kande Wanniya killed his younger brother
Bilindi when the latter was only an infant. The story is that
their parents were out hunting when Bilindi, feeling hungry,
began to cry and would not desist in spite of the endearments
lavished upon him by Kande. At last Kande threw the child
on the ground in despair and so killed him.

776 It appeared that as a hunting hero Bambura Yaka is on the
whole as important as Kande Yaka, though he is certainly not
looked upon as so benevolent nor so loved as the latter, who
helps men to kill deer and never sends sickness. Bambura
Yaka is a somewhat grim spirit who although he gives yams
and helps men to kill pig, also sends sickness and must be
invoked to remove it, and he is also invoked when dogs are
lost or taken by leopards. Because of his giving yams he is
sometimes known as Ale (yam) Yaka, and yams are offered
to him together with other vegetable food when this can be
obtained.

The *kirikoraha* ceremony is performed to obtain game, in
224 gratitude for which the head and a portion of the flesh from
776 the breast of every deer killed is cooked as an offering to Kande
762 Yaka and is afterwards eaten by the community. If this were
not done Kande Yaka would be angry and little game would be
killed.

The *kirikoraha* seen at Sitala Wanniya is described on pp. 223 to 226, and the ceremony at which Bambura Yaka is invoked on pp. 237 to 245.

The spirits of the dead become the *Nae Yaku* and with
775 Kande Yaka are invoked for success in hunting; a description
782 of this ceremony will be found on pp. 230 to 233. A few days
769 after a death the dead man is invoked for assistance in hunting,
being addressed as *mal pamae wanna*, and when the relatives or
the group leave the cave to look for game they repeat the
invocation as they move along. After this, if they are successful,
they know that the spirit of the dead man has become powerful
as a *Nae Yaku* and invoke him at the *kirikoraha* among the
Nae Yaku called upon. The *Nae Yaku* must obtain permission

to accept offerings from Kande Yaka, and Kande Yaka must be invoked before the *Nae Yaku* to come to the offering, which should consist of coconuts, rice, areca nuts, betel leaves and, when obtainable, bananas. 775 782 769

We consider that the beliefs so far described represent the first stratum or basis of the Vedda religion and to be of its original substance. This is not the case with the remaining portion of the religion of the Veddas of Sitala Wanniya, which relates to certain foreign spirits who have become naturalised Vedda *yaku*. The Rahu Yaku are spirits of this sort. A fire ceremony occurs in the dance by which they are invoked and there is no doubt that these *yaku* are derived from the Sinhalese demon Gini Rahu Bandar. Yet in spite of this they have acquired a Vedda history, being regarded as long dead Veddas quite unconnected with the Rahu Bandar of the Sinhalese. The story concerning them is that long ago three Vedda brothers occupied a shelter together and one day one of them returned from hunting to find a stranger in the cave with his wife. The unknown rushed away and made good his escape, but the injured husband made up a big fire and in his rage and despair jumped into it. His *yaka* is one of the Rahu Yaku, the other two being the *yaku* of his two brothers who did not, however, burn themselves to death. 776 177 [773]

The help of the three Rahu Yaku is asked to cure sickness, to obtain success in hunting, and in collecting rock honey. Hunting and honey collecting both have their true Vedda patrons Kande Yaka and Dola Yaka, therefore the Rahu Yaku seem superfluous in these capacities. Further evidence as to their foreign origin is afforded by the fact that they carry "swords" (*kaduwa*), a weapon unknown to Veddas except in incantations[1], and that all three are considered somewhat dangerous, and cause sickness. [411]

Indigollae Yaka, a foreign spirit (whose origin will be considered at length in Chapter VII), is looked upon as an attendant upon Kande Yaka in this community. 776

The names of certain spirits residing on various hills and

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[1] Even these swords, one of which is shown in figure 11 (p. 196), had been naturalised and were said to represent each.

775 *Yaku*, while at nearly all the village Vedda communities Indi-
776 gollae Yaka was said to bring the *Nae Yaku*. Certainly Gale Yaka, Indigollae Yaka and Kande Yaka were all known by name, but there seemed much confusion between them all: perhaps Gale Yaka had become Lord of the Dead as he was invoked before the *Nae Yaku* in the same ceremony; Kande Yaka and Bilindi Yaka were invoked at a separate ceremony. No hint was given us that Gale Yaka and Indigollae Yaka were names for the same spirit, but of course this may have been so. The information that Indigollae Yaka was extremely powerful both to bring evil upon man and to help them to get game was, however, volunteered and, as already mentioned, some old, specially valuable beads were kept to be offered to him.

Gale Yaka was also invoked to give success when gathering honey; he appeared to be associated with a certain rock near Mahaella, and we were told that beads were worn during the ceremony.

The Maha Kiriamma was said to be one of the most powerful
753 of the *Maha Yakino*, a class of female spirits who were said to send sickness[1]. Unapane Yakini (Unapane Kiriamma) was another *yakini* of the same class who was thought to live at Omunigala. Here as among many other groups of Veddas the *Maha Yakino* were associated with hill tops, and it was the
782 custom for people collecting the honey of the rock bee to leave
222 a piece of the comb *in situ*, saying, "Eat, O Kiriamma[2]."

When the *Maha Yakino* are invoked to cure sickness a
755 basket is used in which are put a bead necklace and bangles and the leaves of a *na* tree. The shaman becomes possessed and raises the basket above the patient's head and prophesies recovery. The leaves are subsequently thrown away, but the beads and bangles are preserved for the *Yakino*. Presumably this is the origin of the similar or identical use of these objects in the *kolamaduwa* ceremony which, however, appears to be of Sinhalese origin.

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[1] Nothing was ever said to cause us to suspect that she was connected with Gale Yaka or Indigollae Yaka.

[2] Kiriamma is in the plural in the Sinhalese, showing that all the *Maha Yakino* in the neighbourhood were invoked to partake.

Gange Bandar, unknown among the wilder Veddas but 775
worshipped by all village Veddas, was known at Unuwatura 184
Bubula.

OMUNI.

The history of this settlement dating back to the first half of the last century has been given on pp. 45 and 46. The Omuni folk believe there are spirits (*yaku*) everywhere in the jungle, but none have seen them; further, there are many *yaku* of each kind or species such as the Indigollae Yaku, the Dadayan Yaku and many others including the Gale Yaku called the Jungle Yaku, who do not, however, frequent the jungle around Omuni. It was said that Ganga Bandar Deyo who lives in rocks in the river is greater than any of these. Omuni was one of the first Vedda settlements we visited, and as the importance of Sinhalese and Tamil gods and demons was not then appreciated no questions concerning these were asked. It is, however, reasonable to suppose that the Kataragam God and other mighty
deviyo are worshipped. The spirits of the dead (*Nae Yaku*) are 775
believed to be associated with rocks; on the whole they are kindly spirits, but it is necessary to invoke and propitiate them.

A *Nae Yaku* ceremony is held some little time after a death 769
has taken place, at which the shaman dances with an *aude* before a 782
maessa on which is placed an offering of cooked yams and other food, and the *maessa* is decorated with special clothes kept for that purpose. The *aude* is held in the smoke arising from gum-resin thrown on glowing charcoal, and then pressed on the head of all the male members of the community. If this were not done little game would be killed.

We have an account of another ceremony performed to cure 755
sickness and when the chena had been reaped, but it is not clear what spirits were invoked at this; presumably the most important of these were certain of the *yaku* other than the *Nae Yaku*, though the *Nae Yaku* may have played a subordinate part. A shed or very rough house is built and hung with special clothes reserved for this purpose, those shown to us being rather old and worn pieces of linen woven at Batticaloa. A roughly made shelf forming a sort of altar is built in the shed on which

though incomplete we have no doubt of its substantial accuracy 775
as far as it goes. We had considerable doubts as to the relia- 115
bility of our Dambani information, but these have been removed lately as far as they affect Kande Yaka and the *Nae Yaku* owing to the kindness of Mr Hartshorne who allowed us to look through a number of notes collected among these people thirty years ago. And since the information obtained from the Arachi of Belligala was correct on these points, there seems to be no reason to disbelieve the rest of his information.

According to the Arachi, who, it must be remembered, as 775
stated on p. 49, knows the Dambani folk well, there are three 776
important classes of *yaku*.

The first of these are the *Nae Yaku* who do not go to Kande Yaka but to Indigollae Yaka, who lives on a hill (*kande*) called Indigollae Kande which never has been seen. Indigollae Yaka is first invoked at the *Nae Yaku* ceremony and with him come the *Nae Yaku*. An *ande* is used in calling upon Indigollae Yaka in this ceremony, while the *Nae Yaku* are invoked by means of a cloth and beads; as among other Veddas an offering of food is made.

We could not discover with certainty at Dambani what was 775
the relative importance of the *Nae Yaku* and the two other classes of *yaku*, but at Bulugahaladena and Wellampelle our informants made it quite clear that the *yaku* of recent ancestors were the most important. Thus Kuma stated that he considered his father's *yaka* to be the most important of all and that this spirit was invoked alike to send game and in thanks for game killed.

Bandia of Wellampelle said the most important *yaka* he 775
knew was Punchi Badena, his father's father; his mother is dead 782
but her *yaka* is not so important[1]. Punchi Badena is invoked to get game and honey or when people are sick. At all three villages a structure, which from the description given to us resembles an *alutyakagama*, is built for the invocation of the *Nae Yaku*, to whom the customary offerings are made before

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[1] We have no note that the father of Kuma was dead; although we do not remember definitely inquiring about this our impression is that both parents had been dead for some time.

775 being eaten by the community. A man becomes a *yaka* directly
782 he is dead, nothing is buried with him and the contents of his betel pouch are used in the ordinary way. The *Nae Yaku* ceremony is held some days after death, one, or according to another informant two, *aude* being used.

776 At Bulugahaladena and Wellampelle neither Bilindi Yaka nor Bambura Yaka was known, and these two *yaku* were also unknown at Dambani where, however, the Belligala Arachi said that Kande Yaka gives luck in hunting. This has been confirmed by Mr Hartshorne's notes, so that although our informants at Bulugahaladena and Wellampelle stated that they did not know this *yaka*, too much stress must not be laid upon this.

The other two classes of *yaku* invoked at Dambani are
776 tree and rock *yaku*. Both send sickness and are invoked with
753 dancing and offerings to remove it, the stone magic described on p. 143 being used to determine which *yaka* is responsible for the disease. The most important rock *yaku* are Mawaragala Yaka, Rerangala Yaka, Barutugala Yaka, and Mehaluku Yakini. The latter is associated with a rock Batugala near Alutnuwara, the others with the peaks whose names they bear.

776 Two tree *yaku* were mentioned, each having a number of attendants. These tree *yaku* are named Na Gaha Yaka (Na tree Yaka) and Bo Gaha Yaka (Bo tree Yaka), that is to say they are called after the trees with which they are associated, and the Arachi pointed out that tree *yaku* habitually lived in trees of the species after which they are named. We could not discover any facts suggesting that these tree *yaku* were considered to represent the life of the tree. [524]

HORABORAWEWA.

The surroundings and physical characters of the Veddas of
776 Horaborawewa have been described on p. 53. The shaman is
775 the local Sinhalese headman, who stated that the same *yaku* are invoked by Veddas and Sinhalese alike. Seren (Riri) Yaka is the most important *yaka*, Wiloya Yaka and Kalu Yaka are also known, and it was stated that the latter spirit was also called Wangata Yaka. Our informant had not heard of Kande Yaka or Bilindi Yaka, and it was certain that the worshipped *yaku*

KALUKALAEBA.

The most important spiritual agencies are the following:— 776
Gange Bandar Deyo, Kataragam Deyo, Indigollae Yaka, Rerang Yaka, Riri Yaka (Sinhalese), Maralu Yaka, Rahu Yaka, and Elle Yakini.

In spite of the fact that the people of Kalukalaeba keep 776
cattle and are predominantly agriculturalists Gange Bandar 782
Deyo, who lives on the hill Yangala beyond Hemberewa and gives luck in hunting and honey gathering, was said to be especially important. He is invoked when game is scarce, but it is the Kataragam God who gives increase of yams and vegetable food. They do not dance to him but make offerings of cooked brinjal and pumpkins, which are left for half-a-day on a rude altar and then eaten. Chena are also under the protection of the Kataragam God to whom offerings are made after the produce has been reaped, some of every kind of fruit being cooked and exposed in the chena for some hours before it is eaten by the people.

At Kalukalaeba Kande Yaka, Bilindi Yaka and Bambura 775
Yaka were unknown. The spirits of the dead are recognised as 755
the *Nae Yaku*, but they are certainly thought of as far less important than a number of other spiritual beings to be immediately considered. They are however invoked, but it seemed that this was not done habitually immediately after a death, but at quite uncertain intervals to remove sickness. The father of

and Bintenne, and Nilgala, alike agree that he was a great and powerful prince. They speak of him often, and call him Barangala Kimbul-Henat mudiyanse Rajaput Wanniunnehe. From the name Henat it is manifest he headed some great political movement.... Raja-put probably means king-maker, and the whole title may be translated as 'His Excellency the General Kimbul-Otba of Barangala, the king-maker Lord-of-the-Marches,' or else the 'King-made Lord-of-the-Marches,' wanni, literally a forest or waste, being used exactly as we use the term 'marches,' of Wales or Scotland. The respect of the Sinhalese, and this elaborate title of highest honour, show that this great Vaedda Chieftain headed an army that replaced one of the Sinhalese kings upon the throne of his ancestors. I think it is more probable he figured in a comparatively modern war than in a very ancient one....It is perfectly likely that Kimbul-Otba was a prince of the Sinhala royal family, who married a Vaedda....

"The supposition that Kimbul-Otba was a Sinhala, and that he married either a Bandara or an Unapane lady, would thus account for the otherwise unexplained fact that the Sinhalese say some of their oldest and best families also descended from Kimbul-Otba, though they did not know whether he was really a Vaedda or was claimed by the Vaeddas in mistake, having been their prince." *Op. cit.* Vol. i, p. 176.

775 the present shaman was called Suwanda, and no dance to his
755 spirit was held till a long time, perhaps as much as a year, after
his decease. But when the shaman's mother became ill he was
invoked and offerings were made, with the result that the patient
got well. In connection with this it was explained that it was not
775 unusual for the *Nae Yaku* to make even their nearest and dearest
753 relatives ill for the sake of the offerings they would then receive.

It was stated that the *Nae Yaku* are not allowed to kill
people but only to make them ill, permission to do this and
to accept offerings being obtained from Kataragam Deyo, Saman
Deyo, and Numeriya Deyo. We could not ascertain with
775 certainty whether the *Nae Yaku* have anything to do with
sending luck in hunting, but if they are concerned in this they
clearly play quite a subordinate part. When taking honey
a little is left at the foot of the tree, this was said to be for the
[782] *Nae Yaku*, who may be called to it by some such expression as
"here is honey, be pleased to eat[1]."

A female spirit Elle Yakini is invoked when a woman is
[843] pregnant, to protect mother and child; beads which belong to
the shaman, who seems to keep them for this purpose, are
placed on a piece of cloth and invocations are spoken. After
[844] childbirth a bower apparently resembling the *kolamaduwa* is
made, Elle Yakini is invoked and an offering of food made
to her. At the time of our visit it was said that a dance would
shortly be held to Elle Yakini in thanks for having given a
woman, who at first had difficulty in nursing her child, an
abundant flow of milk. Elle Yakini will be invoked with an
ordinary hunting arrow, and when possessed by her the shaman
will gasp out some such formula as this "Now I have made you
well, remember me in future." Offerings would not be made to
Elle Yakini until her help was again needed.

ELAKOTALIYA.

776 The most important spiritual agencies are the gods and
demons who are worshipped at Kalukalaeba. Indigollae Yaka
is said to give good luck to hunters, for neither Kande Yaka,

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[1] The geographical position of Kalukalaeba allows the Veddas of this group no opportunity of collecting rock honey.

Bilindi Yaka nor Bambura Yaka is known. The *Nae Yaku* 776
are of the company of Indigollae Yaka, and with the latter are [775]
invoked after a death, but the *Nae Yaku* are not asked for good
luck in hunting. The *Nae Yaku* are invoked after every death; [782
coconut, jaggery (palm sugar), and rice are placed on a *maesa*,
offered to the *yaku* and afterwards eaten by the shaman and 769]
other members of the community. While invoking the spirits
the shaman holds a cloth in his hands but no *aude*.

ULPOTA.

The Kataragam God, Gane Deyo and Vihara Deyo, are worshipped, as probably are many others. These spirits are all considered more important than the *Nae Yaku*, and it is to their aid that success in hunting and in honey getting is largely attributed, nevertheless it was clear that the *Nae Yaku* were thought of as helpful in these activities. Our informant stated that they had never heard of Kande Yaka, Bilindi Yaka, or Bambura Yaka, nor had they heard of the gods of the coast Veddas Kapalpe or Kadupe.

The spirits of the dead become *Nae Yaku*, and it is customary 769
for a ceremony to be held eight days after a death, at which the 775
spirits of all the recent dead are invoked. It was said that these
spirits of the deceased joined the other *Nae Yaku* without asking 782
permission from any other spiritual being and that the *Nae Yaku* came when they were invoked unaccompanied by any other spirit. The shaman does not hold an *aude* in his hand when invoking the *Nae Yaku*, but some rice and cooked pumpkin are put upon a *maesa* before which he dances. At the side of this is a pot of rice covered with a cloth supported on a rice pounder. The shaman faces the east whilst dancing, and appeals to all remembered *Nae Yaku* by name. It was said to be rare for any but the shaman to become possessed.

The *Nae Yaku* give honey and luck in hunting, and it is in order to obtain their favour that they are invoked, for if they were not they would give bad luck. When collecting tree honey the name of a dead man is called and he is requested to accept a little honey which is left at the foot of the tree for a short time, after which it is eaten by the honey gatherers. After killing game

769 a piece of flesh is offered to the *Nae Yaku* who are called by
775 name, and then the Veddas eat it themselves.

782 Vihara Deyo is considered to send sickness, and he is invoked
to make men whole again. Rice is cooked with milk usually
776 obtained from the Tamil village of Horawila, and this with betel
753 and areca nut is put upon a *maesa*. Only the shaman dances,
755 and after the ceremony the offering is eaten by the whole community, including the sick man. Our informant did not know how the *yaka* or *deyo* causing the sickness was discovered, that being left to the shaman.

YAKURE.

776 The important spiritual agencies are:—Gange Bandar
775 Deyo, Genikandia Deyo, Palugamman Deyo, Vihara Deyo, Mangara Deyo. Our informants knew of Indigollae Yaka but did not know if he ever was a man or had always been a spirit. Nothing was known of Kande Yaka, Bilindi Yaka, or Bambura Yaka. Dead shamans are thought to become *yaku*, and it is the spirits of these people who are the *Nae Yaku*: the fate of the spirits of ordinary folk is uncertain, but they do not become *Nae Yaku*. The *Nae Yaku* are danced to and invoked
755 with the other *yaku* in order to cure sickness, but apparently
775 they are not considered particularly important. A *maesa* is made and a cloth put over it, and on it are laid flowers of many kinds, betel leaves and areca nuts. Incense is burned before these offerings, in front of which the shaman dances facing the east. In some instances the *maesa* is built inside the temple, the shaman holds a cloth in his hand and a pot of rice cooked in milk is placed by the *maesa* on a rice pounder[1]. This is not tasted during the dance, but is eaten afterwards by the shaman and the sick man and other individuals of the community[2].

776 Kataragam Deyo is invoked especially to protect the chena,
782 and at harvest an offering is made which is afterwards eaten as at Elakotaliya.

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[1] It must be remembered that Yakure is a great cattle breeding centre.

[2] This is an interesting contrast to the practice which Mr Parker informs us prevails in the south of the island, where food given to spirits is not eaten at all but is exposed in the jungle or some deserted place. The fact that at Yakure food offered to spirits, many of whom are of Sinhalese or Tamil origin, is eaten, is clearly a remnant of the Vedda belief that the spirits invoked are in the main beneficent.

301 among the wilder Veddas at the present day. It therefore
appears that although beads are worn as ornaments by the
members of certain communities in the Bintenne there is no
[184] evidence for their use as such among the Veddas to the east of
the Badulla-Batticaloa road.

We may next consider certain facts which seem to indicate
301 that beads may be sometimes treated as amulets, or at least as
751 having magical power. At Bandaraduwa where there has been
a great deal of Sinhalese influence, one woman wore a piece
of knotted string round her throat which had been charmed
and put on by a Sinhalese to cure her of some ailment. When
we gave her a string of beads she was very pleased and im-
mediately broke the old charmed string and put the beads
round her neck in place of it.

At Bendiyagalge all the women were particularly anxious
for us to give beads to their children and immediately put these
round their necks, but those given to themselves were not
usually put on in our presence. In both these cases there is
only the suggestion that beads were regarded as anything more
than ornaments, and this also holds good as regards the beads
of bear's bone worn by Kaira of Bingoda already recorded,
but in the following cases the relation of beads to the *yaku* is
perfectly clear. The women of Unuwatura Bubula, though
they possessed beads of the same kind as those worn by the
301 women of Omuni, were afraid to wear them, and gave them
791 to the shaman to keep and use in *yaku* ceremonies. In this
village we found that women would not accept red beads as
presents because "they were afraid," though they readily took
the white beads offered them, and the shaman when dancing
to the Alut Yakini wore cross shoulder straps of old beads,
and similar beads were kept for Indigollae Yaka.

There is equally strong evidence of the definite association
301 of beads with the *yaku* in other communities, though the reason
782 for this association could not be determined. At Sitala Wan-
niya a band of bast was placed upon the offering to the Rahu
Yaku, and our informants said that they would have used beads
instead of the bast had they possessed them. At the same
place when preparing for the dance to Dola Yaka, who gives

success in honey gathering, the shaman asked us for two strings 301
of beads. These beads he placed over betel leaves upon two 782
arrows thrust in the centre of the dancing ground which were surrounded by betel leaves offered to the *yaka*. These beads were said to represent the rough rope of creeper with which the green twigs forming the smoker were secured and the rope by which the smoker was lowered to the comb.

When it is remembered that Veddas do not tattoo or paint 304
themselves, and have never been seen wearing any kind of seeds 302
as ornaments, it seems reasonable to assume that where beads 301
are sought after by the Veddas they are valued for their supposed magical properties.

In conclusion we may give the only perfectly clear instance 751
of a Vedda wearing an amulet with which we are acquainted. The shaman of Bandaraduwa wore on his wrist a small silver cylinder such as is commonly used to contain a written charm. The cylinder was empty and had never contained a charm, but the shaman told us that he wore it in order to be cured of an illness from which he had suffered formerly, and that presently he would give the cylinder to some pilgrim proceeding to Kataragam in order that he might deposit it in the temple there.

THE EATING OF HUMAN LIVER.

Every group of Veddas except the most sophisticated village 789
Veddas believe that it was formerly the custom for a man to 266
carry in his betel pouch a small piece of dry human liver. But the majority of our informants were not clear as to the exact reason for doing this, though they were all agreed that it had something to do with raising a man's valour and making him strong to bear trouble. It was essential that the liver should be taken from a man killed by the individual who proposed to carry a portion of the dried liver in his pouch. When a man had been killed the slayer would open his belly and take out a small portion of his liver which he would dry in the sun in a secret place. This custom appears to have ceased about three generations ago, but the following instance, said to have occurred about fifty years ago, was given us at Bandaraduwa.

the Henebedda *kirikoraha*) it is usually poured on the ground without any ceremony. 796

A description of the phenomena of "possession" of the Vedda shaman by the *yaku* has already been given in Chapter VI, so that nothing need be said on that matter in connection with this dance or any of the ceremonies described in this chapter, in all of which "possession" occurred. 796 787

The essential features of the *kirikoraha* are two in number. The first of these is the offering of coconut milk and generally of other food to Kande Yaka and Bilindi Yaka and sometimes other *yaku* regarded as their attendants. Secondly the pantomimic representation by the shaman, while possessed by Kande Yaka, of Kande Wanniya tracking and shooting a sambar deer. This pantomime seems to occur only when "possession" by Kande Yaka takes place, for whenever any pantomime of this sort was enacted, even in the most shortened and conventional form, as in the Nae Yaku ceremony (described on pp. 233 to 237 of this chapter), the shaman was held to be possessed by Kande Yaka. [782]

We witnessed four *kirikoraha* ceremonies during our stay in the Vedda country. One was performed by the Henebedda Veddas in thanksgiving for a fine buck which one of them had shot, and the other three were undertaken at our request, but we have no doubt that they were accurately performed; for the Veddas were always pleased to perform any ceremonial dance provided the correct offering were given, as thereby they gained the favour of the *yaku*, and it was seldom that they were able to offer such food as we gave them for the purpose. The *kirikoraha* ceremony appears to be held equally as a thanksgiving for game killed and in order to obtain success in the future. 796

The Kirikoraha at Bendiyagalge. A fine buck was killed late in the afternoon of the 7th of February, 1908, and was carried to a flat rock between our camp and the Bendiyagalge caves and rapidly skinned and cut up during the short tropical twilight. A *kirikoraha* ceremony was performed the next morning, before taking part in which all the men went to the neighbouring stream and bathed, and afterwards made an offering of food to the *yaku*.

from his previous fatigue, invoked Walimabagala Yaka and Yakini. The dancing of these *yaku* exactly resembled that described at the beginning of the ceremony, and is therefore not further recorded. 796 535

THE KOLAMADUWA CEREMONY.

It seems very doubtful whether the *kolamaduwa* as it exists at the present day should be described as a Vedda ceremony at all, though as it was danced by the Henebedda Veddas at Bendiyagalge it merits a description. It is in any case certain that the *kolamaduwa* is not often performed, as the amount of food and other properties necessary could scarcely have been found by one small Vedda community[1]; also its main objects, the curing of disease in cattle and epidemic sickness among men, would not appeal greatly to small communities of hunters dwelling in healthy surroundings. At the present day the Henebedda Veddas make rough chena and herd cattle for the Sinhalese, but the cattle have not yet become an important factor in their lives, and the people themselves do not suffer from epidemics. Further, at Bandaraduwa, on the borders of the Eastern Province, the only other place where this dance was known among Veddas, we were told that they would perform it for the Sinhalese, and that each dancer would be paid Rs. 5 for his trouble besides being given his food. Our aged Sinhalese informant, mentioned on p. 31, told us that the *kolamaduwa* was not danced by these Veddas when he was a boy, and that he considered it had arisen as an elaboration of the *ruwala* ceremony which used to be performed in those days. The *ruwala*—already described in this chapter—itself shows signs of having been introduced from the Tamils of the east coast, though probably at a comparatively remote period. Great numbers of *yaku* and *yakini* should be invoked at the *kolamaduwa*; some, 755 535 177

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[1] According to Tissahami all the following offerings were necessary for a full ceremony. Eight measures of rice and two large pots in which to cook it, 10 coconuts, 8 bundles of yams, 50 plantains, 2 sugar canes, 200 betel leaves, 12 candles, 1 lb. sandal wood, 100 balls of jaggery, ½ lb. turmeric, 1 lb. of resin, 4 coloured cloths, 8 yards of white cloth, 4 necklets of beads, 8 small baskets and 8 cloths to cover them, 4 pairs of metal bangles, 1 bottle of ghee and flowers of various kinds. [782]

THE AVANA CEREMONY.

796 The *avana* ceremony which we saw at Henebedda may be
described here. Mr Bibile told us that he had heard of it having been performed in his father's time by Sinhalese in the neighbourhood of Bibile, and the former Korala of Bakiella in the Eastern Province, a man particularly versed in magic and spiritual matters, knew all about this custom, while on the other hand many Veddas did not know of it. Our impression is that we are here dealing with an original Vedda custom, consisting of an offering of part of the game killed, which has been modified by the peasant Sinhalese of the Vedda country, and again adopted from them in its modified form by the Veddas.

The following account of the *avana* custom records what we
796 actually saw done on the night of February 7th, at Henebedda
224 on the occasion of the death of a fine buck. The stag, which
782 had been shot a short distance from Bendiyagalge caves, was
carried to a convenient slab of rock between our camp and the caves and there cut up, an arrow being most skilfully used to skin and disjoint the animal; the throat was opened low down in the front of the neck, one or more big veins being severed, and three double handfuls of blood were smeared upon a heap of *mora* leaves which had previously been laid on a rock. Then six long narrow pieces of muscle called *anda malu* (eel flesh, because the strips of muscle are long like eels) were cut from the root of the neck as well as two morsels from the tongue, the nostril and the ears. These twelve pieces of meat, constituting
796 the offering called *avana*, were put on the blood-smeared leaves
782 for the Kadawara Yaku, who were said to be the spirits of eleven
Veddas who were named and described as follows:

773 Avana Vedda, the first Vedda who instituted the rite.

Lē Vedda, the first man who smeared blood on the heap of leaves.

Mas Vedda, the first man who laid meat upon the heap of leaves.

Buta Vedda, the *yaka* of the Vedda who sent the animal whose blood and flesh were used at the first *avana* ceremony.

Atu Holaman Vedda, the *yaka* who makes noises in the

forest near the hunter to make him believe that the game he is 796
following has run away. 782 ●

Bedi Holaman Vedda, the *yaka* who breaks sticks and causes 773
dead branches to fall and so frighten game away.

Kili Mas Vedda, the *yaka* of the Vedda who cut up the animal whose flesh and blood were used at the first *avana*.

Polu Mas Vedda, who smoked part of the meat of this animal.

Melihi Vedda, the *yaka* who blinds hunters so that they cannot track the wounded game.

Ahuru Gahana Vedda, the Vedda who first snapped his fingers to call his dogs.

Ihurun Gahana Vedda, the Vedda who first whistled to his dogs to come hunting.

These eleven *yaku* are considered strong enough to kill [753]
folk and to send sickness; it appeared to us that the individuals of this group were not carefully differentiated but rather regarded as one power.

The Korala of Bakiella who has already been mentioned 796
said that a leaf cone (*goṭuwa*) containing blood was placed 782
on a heap of leaves with flesh from the throat, tongue and ears
of the kill and the whole offered to the 64,000 Maralu Yaku and 177
64,000 Kadawara Yaku. The leaf cone is a distinctly Sinhalese 539
feature and the ceremony described by the Korala had become entirely Sinhalese in character. This is borne out by the invocation which was written down for us by the Korala.

Atu awanē lē dena mantraya Kaḍawara Rīri Yakaṭa Yakinniṭa.

Vētāla niwara sīnāpoti bisawun wahansēge kradaya palā bihi unu Kaḍawēra Rīri Yakshayā Yakshinīṭa atu awanak aetun koṭu awanak aetun, amu mas amu riri aetun.

Adat mama anḍagasā kaepa kera dennē. Mama yana issaraṭa rukera an munayak genādiṇ, ellē pāḍu kera dīlā, veḍī munē is(sara)ṭa kera dīla, amaren giyat (*a*) *mareṇ piṭat wilā, marana paikera dīlā, waessī langaṭa mīden ennā wāgē, kambe kanuweṭa magul aetek baenda palikera wāge, ella pāḍu* (*ka*) *ra denḍa Kaḍawera Riri Yakshayā Yakshigen warami.*

796 "The invocation to Kaḍawara Riri Yakā and Yakinī, when presenting blood in the shelter (made) of branches.

782 "There was (on a former occasion) an (open) shelter of
177 branches, there was an enclosed shelter, there were fresh meat
539 and fresh blood for the Kaḍawara Riri Yakshayā and Yakshinī,
who having guarded (?) the pool of the General Queen at Vētāla Nuwara (the Goblin city) became demons.

"To-day also having summoned (you) I present the (same) offering. Before I go I solicit from the Kaḍawara Riri Yakshayā and Yakshinī that they will bring a head with beautiful horns (to me), that they will make good all deficiencies, make my shots unerring [lit. present (the game) before the point of the shot], should I get into difficulty that they will overcome it, decree that I shall kill (game), (enable me) to approach a calf (fem.) like the buffalo cow comes up (to it) [i.e. without alarming it], rope a lucky tusk-elephant to the post, as though defending it (?), and that they will make good all deficiencies."

The above transliteration and translation have been prepared by Mr Parker who points out that the written invocation is full of errors, and therefore difficult to translate, but it does not contain any "Vaedi expressions" and "only a few difficult words." We have consulted Mr Parker in the hope that he might be able to throw some light on the matter of the origin of the *avana*, but although his remarks are in many ways interesting and suggestive, they do not really explain the origin of the ceremony, though he is inclined to agree with us that the ceremony is of Vedda origin[1].

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[1] Mr Parker writes: "The Sinhālese have also some Vaedi Yakas though these have no connection with the eleven spirit yakas of your ceremony, who are chiefly protective. There are also 'Vaedi' Kadawara who are minor subordinates of the Kohomba (Margosa) demon or Yaka. *Kaḍawara* is a compound Tamil word meaning according to a story that was related to me both in Ceylon (N.C.P.) and at the Tanjore temple, 'the celestial who escaped' compression by Siva the Indian god, when he clasped in his embrace six others created by his wife, and thus made them into the Kataragam God Skanda, the Indian war God, called also Kanda Kumara, with six faces and twelve arms."

1;Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
AX5 Vedda AX5

CHAPTER X

INVOCATIONS

THE translations of the invocations given in this chapter have been made by Mr H. Parker who has spared no pains in working out very complicated and often incomplete material. The invocations themselves were written down by our interpreters to the dictation of the Veddas, and thus naturally contained a certain number of mistakes and contractions. These are noted and explained by Mr Parker, and it should be realised that the philological and mythological explanations appended to many invocations are entirely his work and are therefore placed between inverted commas. 782 126

Neither the Veddas themselves, nor our interpreters, could give a translation of some of the invocations or even explain the meaning. In others no translation could be supplied and it was noted in the field that the meaning was probably only correct in a broad sense. In yet other invocations more or less accurate translations of the words themselves were given, but the significance could not be determined. Under these circumstances we have thought it best to give Mr Parker's translation in every case, indicating how this differs in sense from the version given us in the field in those instances in which we have reason to believe that our field version peculiarly expresses what our informants believed to be the meaning of the invocation.

These invocations fall into two main groups; the first, distinguished by their simple form, are straightforward requests to the spirits of the dead to provide game and yams, or to show their loving kindness by partaking of the food provided by their descendants. The second group although embracing a con- 782

[p. 273]

782 siderable range of beliefs are all longer and more complicated, and often contain references to events which happened before the spiritual beings to whom they are addressed attained their full power as *yaku*.

For convenience the invocations are consecutively numbered and grouped according to their purpose, for we believe that this arrangement, though not ideal, is on the whole the most suitable[1]. In each group the invocations progress from simple to more complicated.

It will be noted that in many if not all of these invocations
782 animals and articles of food are not mentioned by their usual
192 name, but are called by some other name or described by
198 a periphrasis. A special vocabulary, largely but not entirely the same as that used in invoking the *yaku*, is used by the Veddas when hunting and indeed whenever travelling through the jungle. The relation of this jungle language to the other languages of the island will be discussed in Chapter XV, meanwhile it is only necessary to note that in one form or another it is spread over a great part of the island and that it is known by the name *kaele basa* "jungle language." The object of the *kaele basa* has been well explained by Mr Parker who has allowed me to take the following quotation from the proof-sheets of his work *Ancient Ceylon*. "Strange to say, the Kandian Sinhalese and the Wanniyas apparently imitate the Vaeddas while they are hunting in the forests,...and use another series of expressions...for many...animals, to the exclusion of the usual names for them. They have acquired a belief that unless a

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[1] An alternative arrangement would have been to group these invocations geographically; the following list will enable the reader to do this with ease.

List of Invocations and the localities from which each were collected.

Bandaraduwa. Nos. 7, 15, 26, 34.
Bulugahaladena. Nos. 9, 10.
Dambani. Nos. 2, 12, 13.
Godatalawa. Nos. 3, 5, 20, 24.
Henebedda. Nos. 14, 19, 21.
Kalukalaeba. No. 6.
Sitala Wanniya. Nos. 1, 11, 16, 18, 23, 27, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 35, 36.
Uniche. Nos. 8, 17, 22, 28.
Unuwatura Bubula. Nos. 25, 37.
Wellampelle. No. 4.

special dialect be employed while they are in the forest, they cannot expect to meet with any success in seeking honey, or hunting, or in avoiding dangerous animals.

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"This dialect...consists of the employment of new words not only for animals but also for a few other nouns, and for verbs used to denote acts most commonly performed on such trips. In addition, all negative (that is, unlucky) modes of expression are totally debarred from use on such occasions, as well as the words meaning 'insufficient' and 'too much,' which are inauspicious as indicating dissatisfaction with the number or quantity to which they are applied."

Although in some instances the word used when addressing the *yaku* is not the precise word used by the same Veddas while hunting it is convenient, and we think reasonable, to regard the *yaka* language as a part of the *kaele basa*.

The only other linguistic feature of these invocations that requires comment is the abundant use of the adjective *ran* "golden." The significance of this in a particular and somewhat puzzling instance is discussed in a footnote to invocation No. XXI, so that it suffices here to record our belief that among the Veddas the expression is laudatory and is the equivalent of "excellent," "admirable." In invocations used while collecting honey the expression "jewelled" is used with almost equal freedom, e.g. "golden jewelled cord" in invocation No. XXVI, and is simply to be understood as a laudatory expression.

INVOCATIONS TO THE NAE YAKU.

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Sitala Wanniya.

1. *Āyu bōwā. Āyu bōwā. Nae koṭṭaewā*[1], *nae sināwā.*
Hudu hambā welaṭa aḍagaha dunnā kaewā bunnā.
Kisi waradak sitanna epā, apit kanawā bonawā.

Salutation! Salutation! Part of (our) relatives!

Multitude of relatives! Having called (you) at the (right) time (we) gave (you) white sambā (rice); (you) ate, (you) drank. Do not think any wrong (of us); we also eat (and) drink.

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[1] *Koṭṭaewā* for *koṭṭāsaya*, a part, section.

Dambani.

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II. *E lowa giya apa appā mē lowa warē. Depatullan aenō kālāpin. Hapa mangaccapawu kankunā bapa dammanna, kabaraya bapa dammanna. Mē paengiri kola aenō kālāpin. Hani hanikapa mangaccapawu. Ammalaya aetto hapapa mangaccapawu. Depatullan aenō kālāpin, gal miccah aenō kālāpin, paengiri kola aenō kālāpin. Kankunā bapa dammanna, kabaraya bapa dammanna hani haniyapa mangaccapaw.*

Our father who went to that world come to this world. Take the rice. Come quickly to place (for us) the sambar deer, to place the spotted deer. Take this betel leaf. Come very quickly. Come quickly my mother's people. Take the rice, take the rock honey, take the betel leaf. To place the sambar deer, to place the spotted deer, come very quickly.

"*Depatullan* from *depata*, 'double' and *ula*, 'point.' Rice is the grain with two points, not rounded like millet.

"*Mangacca* from *man*, 'path,' and *gassanawā*, 'to strike (with the feet),' hence to proceed in either direction, that is, to come or to go.

"*Kankunā bapa*, 'the dirty-eared beast,' the sambar. The long ears of some animals are liable to become dirty inside with the wax, etc. and ticks often collect in them. Hence the application of the term 'the dirty-eared beast' to the sambar.

"*Kabaraya bapa*, 'the spotted beast,' the axis.

"*Paengiri kola*, 'sour leaf,' may include any leaf of acid taste for chewing, but the expression is especially applied to betel, as in the *kaele basa*. The commonest word for 'sour' is *aembul* but *paengiri* is also often used.

"*Aenō kālāpin* for *anna* (*aran*) *karāpan*, 'take.' In another invocation (No. IV) we have *aenō kālāñña*, 'I will make another's,' that is, 'I will present.'"

Godatalawa.

III. *Ayu bōwā! Mal paennaē wannā. Ada rakshāwak nae. Bim bajrawwa ada denta ōnaeyi. Hatarak pā aettanta geyun allā denta ōnaeyi. Eyin paeyin pussā anguru mas yakadak appu-hara dennayi. Ada raekuma rakshāwa bala baendala denta ōnaeyi.*

Salutation[1]! Driver away of Vaeddas[2]. Today (there is) no livelihood

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[1] Lit. may life be long.

[2] *Mal paennaē wannā.* "The word *mal* in another invocation of the *Nae Yaku* is evidently applied to the Vaeddas, and therefore there cannot be much doubt regarding the meaning, here and elsewhere, of the expression *mal paennaē wannā*, whe

Today you must give wild brinjal; you must allow the four-footed persons[1] to catch iguanas. Having roasted (part) of them in an hour[2], I will make and give (you an offering of) an altar (furnished with) meat (fried on) charcoal[3]. Today (you) must furnish (and) give protection (and) livelihood by (your) power.

Wellampelle.

IV. *Depaṭullan aeno kālāñña, paengiri kola aenā kālāñña, gal micciyak aenā kālāñña appalaye aettanna mori yānak aeno kālāñña. Kankunā mayī ehaṭa aenā kālāṭa adana iti boṭa damā.*

I will present rice, I will present betel leaf, I will present rock honey, I will present an altar for the dead to (my) father's people. Make over as mine the sambar, having placed (for me) the wearing-spikes beast (i.e. the porcupine).

"*Aeno kālāñña* for *Anya karañña*, I will make another's, that is, I will present or make over.

"*Mori*, from root *mri* (Skt) to die.

"*Yānak* for *Yahanak*."

Godatalawa.

It was stated that the following invocation was said to determine whether the deceased had attained power as a *yaka*.

V. *Hāmadurawuā, Alut wal paennae wannā, haskam tiyenawā haebae nam eha wal mandiyak wal marāgaṇa ena welāṭa maṭa gawara māgallek hambawenḍa ōnae. Mē unkiri daluwaṭa, wal paennae Wannā, eli bānawā.*

Lord, New Driver away of Vaeddas, if it be true that there are miracles[4], killing one wild iguana in the jungle at the time while coming I must meet with a sambar deer. (Be pleased) to drink[4], Driver away of Vaeddas, this young coconut[6].

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applied to the spirit of the recent dead. Dr Seligmann learnt that the cave in which a Vaedda has died is avoided by his relatives as a residence for several years afterwards; and this appears to afford a satisfactory explanation of the expression."

[1] Dogs, a *kaeli bāsa* term.

[2] The Sinhalese unit of time here translated "hour" has a duration of twenty minutes.

[3] Lit. charcoal meat altar.

[4] "The words *haskam tiyenawā haebae nam* 'if it be true that there are miracles' were explained to Dr Seligmann as signifying 'if it is true that you have attained power (or become powerful) as a *yaka*.'"

[5] "*eli bānawā* means 'having thrown down (the throat), to swallow.' In the *kaeli bāsa, kaṭa bānawā*, which means 'to eat,' is literally 'having chopped, to swallow.'"

"*Unkiri daluwa* is 'the bud deficient in milk,' that is, the young coconut before the 'milk' is formed in it."

Kalukalaeba.

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VI. *Ayibō tamunnānsē rachima rakshāwa labeṇna ōnae yana ieṇṇaṭa ena ieṇṇaṭa ehen biri dala iliremna wāgē maha mandī*[1] *wārahen enaē wāgē rachima rakshāwa diyuna diyuna karala denna ōnae.*

Hail. You must (cause us) to receive protection and means of support while going and returning. As the young shoot springs up from the eye (of the seed), as the south-west wind comes (causing) great delight, you must bestow two-fold two-fold protection and maintenance.

Bandaraduwa.

VII. *Willin mārāl nangī siṭā, gangin mārāl nangīt siṭā, pēliyen pēliyaṭa williṭa no bin no bin kiyamin. Ayiyō Deyyā.*

From the pool the Brahmany kite has risen, from the river the Brahmany kite has also risen, from line to line at the pool (i.e. flying round it in circles) saying "no place, no place." Alas ! O God.

"*Māralu* is a *kaelī bāsa* word for the Brahmany kite. Its cry is said by villagers to be *no bin, no bin*, one meaning of which is 'improper,' which does not appear to be suitable in this invocation. 'There is no place for me now' seems to be the meaning. The spirit of the deceased is compared to the kite which is accustomed to circle round high above the water, uttering this cry."

Uniche.

VIII. *Pelaha nagā marāṇa gal, pelaha gangī marāṇa gal williṭa siṭaganna no bin kiyālā.*

Wanni allapu dunu haṇu tial simin simiṭat no bin kiyālā.

Me goḍawwala goḍa tarāṇa mal haḍanna haḍanna mal aḍu wela.

Ayiyō, Deyiyā.

The part (? of the dead) whom the cobra killed, (and) the part whom the river killed, having said "(There is) no place (for us)," are stopping at the pool[2].

The bow-sticks (and) arrows[3] seized in the Wanni (the forest), having said "(There is) no place (for them," go) from boundary to boundary (? is other people's possession).

(Through) continuing to break, in these lands, the Vaeddas[4] that pass over the land, the Vaeddas[4] have diminished. Alas, God !

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[1] *Mandī* is the genitive case of *manda*, "pleasure," "delight," "rejoicing."

[2] "The context may possibly imply that the spirits of those who die of snake-bi or drowning are left to fly about like the kites, as homeless shades, that is as *prēta*."

[3] "This doubtless refers to the bows and arrows of the deceased."

[4] "The word here translated Vaeddas usually means 'flowers.' It is howev quite clear that it is also used to mean 'Vaeddas,' cf. invocation No. III."

Bulugahaladena.

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IX. *Demaṭamali Demaṭamalā Koṭakacci uccumbaye mūkammā, uccumbaye mūkappā diyaṭullan pojja mālā wada māl puccal toṭanja asnā kālae wel toṭannat kaṭallewa.*

Demaṭamali and Demaṭamalā, excellent Great Mother (and) excellent Great Father of Koṭakacciya, (we) having washed rice in a pot (and) having roasted meat shot with the arrow, may they be made over to you. Eat ye also.

" *Uccumbaye* for *uaaba*, excellent.

" Kotakaecci appears to be the name of a place.

" *Pojja* for *pocca*, pot.

" *Wada* for *waidya* or *vidha*.

" *Māl* for *mālu*, meat.

" *Puccal* for *pulussalā*, roasted."

" Demaṭamali and Demaṭamalā are two flower names, which like numerous others in Sinhalese are used as personal names. Demaṭamalā means flower of the *demata* tree (*Gmelina asiatica*) the last vowel being lengthened by the addition of *a*, as is usual in personal names. Demaṭamali is simply the feminine form."

X. *Demaṭamali uccumbaye mā ammā, Demaṭamalā Koṭakacci uccumbaye maha appa hankuntuwa, kaberaya, hocca dikkā, mundi, perumā, gayi bokka mā mada asnā kalapa acna baccapa.*

Demaṭamali, excellent Great Mother, Demaṭamalā excellent Great Father of Koṭakacciya, make over (and) take (and) send down (to us) the sambar, the axis deer, the pig, the iguana (fem.), the large buffalo (?), (and beehives) inside trees hollow (and) large.

" *Hocca dikkā*, 'the long-snouted one.'

" *Mundi* is the fem. of *mundā*, the noosed one.

" *Perumā*. This word is doubtful. It has the form of a *haelī bāsa* word like the others, and thus must be descriptive of the animal; it may mean 'the large Great one.'

" *Gayi*, pl. of *gā*, tree.

" The word for beehives, *machihaeli gam*, has been omitted."

Sitala Wanniya.

XI. *Arā rajā Kappan selliya pequna, millia andara dayiyā Alota Wanniyā, tamāgē kapaṭa taṭapi hanī kaḍakkan kanamandiran al dilennaw kalanna dewana waraw, Alota Wanniyā.*

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Kapunaelliya (Monkeys' Hill) appears (like) the king of health (?), the god dark with verdure, O New Wanniyā. The ear-rings made for his ears shine[1] like fire-flies. Come running to look (at it), O New Wanniyā.

Mr Parker writes: "This invocation is a poetical description of Monkeys' Hill, on which the fire-flies remind the reciter of shining ear-rings. The speaker of the invocation hopes by his glowing description to attract the 'new spirit.'" Our informants at Sitala Wanniya stated that Kapunaelliya was a hill on the far side of Walimbagala (Friar's Hood) where their ancestors gathered honey. They said that the invocation first stated that Kapunaelliya was dark, and they informed us that this was due to mist or fog. The invocation then appealed to the spirit invoked as "new Wanniya," asking that he should come running to see the ear-rings which had been prepared for his ears and which shone like fire-flies. In spite of the more practical appeal made to the *Nae Yaku* according to the Vedda version, this account coincides in essentials with Mr Parker's translation, since both agree that the object of the invocation is to attract the spirit of the deceased.

Dambani.

XII. *Urōgamai gama Aembalāgamai gama wé aqu kehelan watti, pala kehelan watti wattien de wattia kola wikadarawana parakkarawayi. Mé parak-karana watiawa aila i Kamburā galaja wunqala pilumarawa pala idimal wida.*

On some occasions (lit. from occasion to two occasions) in the wild plantain garden and the house (i.e. cultivated) plantain garden at both Urōgama village and Aembalāgama there is delay in the unfolding of the leaves. On account of this delay will the chief Nilā having proceeded to that Kamburā-gala, by the great amount of (his) skill cause the trees to fruit and the fruit to ripen?

We give this invocation with all reserve. As stated elsewhere in this volume the Dambani folk are village Veddas accustomed to parade their "wildness," and it was difficult to work with them, so that it is not improbable that this formula has really nothing to do with the *Nae Yaku*. These remarks apply equally to the following invocation (No. XIII). Mr Parker suggests the possibility that it implied "that as the chief Nilā could twice preserve the plantain trees he might have preserved the Vaeddas if he wished."

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[1] "Wrongly put in the Imperative mood."

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XIII. *Asē nidāna ganna nudenne Ākāsakālā Devi visin tamā, polowē mihi kaṭa ganna nudenne polowē Mihikāntā Devi visin tamā, kiri bona wassanṭa bonna nudenne Kande Alut Devi visin tamā.*

Sat muhudē ē disē siṭa mē disāṭa enakoṭa nalalē paligena ba lalī enē wedīnā, uḍa wiyan bandagena waṭa wiyan bandagena ennanne na ugē. Ran andawan alla toran atē elawai warē deva roda alligena ennanne. Eluwan allanne gonawarayo allan hossa dikkā allanne enne nēwē.

To take the hidden treasure of the sky is not permitted by the Goddess (of the sky) Ākāsakālā herself; on the earth to take the gems of the earth is not permitted by the Goddess of the earth, Mahikāntāwa herself; the milk drinking calf is not permitted to drink, by the new Goddess of the hill herself.

Are you coming from that country of the Seven Seas to this country, having split the forehead (i.e. made your appearance out of the forehead), and shaking violently at the very time when you come? You will not come (? unless we) have tied clothes overhead and have tied side cloths (at the shot or *maḍuwa*). Come and hold in your hand ornamental arches (*toraṇ*) in which is suspended a golden chain. You will come holding a divine wheel (?). Goat catchers, sambar deer catchers, pig catchers will not come (i.e. to ask your assistance on this occasion).

[1] *Asē* for *Ākāsē*, in the sky.

[2] *Kaṭa* appears to equal *Kāntak*, a gem; or it is derived from the root *khan*, dig, excavate.

[3] *Wassa* for *wassā*, calf.

[4] *Andawan* for *andu*, chain.

[5] *Roda* may be *rōdaya*, a wheel, but it does not occur elsewhere, and the meaning is doubtful.

[6] *Hossa dikkā*, 'long snout,' a *kaelē bāsa* word for pig."

With the possible exception of the reference to the "New Goddess of the Hill," which may refer to one of the Maha Yakini (Kiriammā), there is nothing in this invocation belonging to the Vedda form of belief, and we do not doubt that the whole formula has been taken over from foreign sources. Mr Parker writes that he has "no knowledge of Ākāsakālā, the Sky Goddess," but that "Mahi-kāntāwa is well known as the personification of the earth, literally 'Earth' (*mahi*), 'woman' (*kāntāwa*)."

The appearance of divine children by other means than birth *per vias naturales* is a common Hindu belief of which Mr Parker cites the following instances: "Ayiyanār, the son of Mōhinī,

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an incarnation of Vishnu, is said in Ceylon and India to have appeared from Vishnu's hand......there is the well known story of the production of the four castes from the body of Brahma[1]."

Henebedda.

The heading of this invocation *Paṭṭiwelaṭa Panikki Yakā makuṭa kiyana kavi* signifies "Song sung for the cattle herds to Panikki Yaka the Chief." The *yaka* invoked is the spirit of the sixteenth century chief Panikki Vedda, whose history is given in Chapter I. To some extent this invocation bridges the gap between the nameless *Nae Yaku* and the Vedda heroes, though it is obvious that the worship of Panikkia Yaka is allied to the *Baṇḍāra* cult to which we have alluded elsewhere. Our informants, however, did not regard Panikkia Yaka as a Baṇḍāra.

XIV. *Ana guru kapayi, Bola tōpā yāluwā.*
Polā guru kapayi, Bola tōpā yāluwā.
Gasannā sulanmayi, Bola tōpā yāluwā.
Igalannā pa(n)daralmayi, Bola tōpā yāluwā.

Kanā iraṭa pīṭen ira kindi ādinnawa ādinnawa,
Mama mama pārakkada, Nilami Nilā?

Kuḍā nayphi ralā narwateṇ, bālaṭikada, bālannada?
Kudā nayphi raciat kodimayi, Bola tōpā yāluwā.
Mahā nayphi racilā narwateṇ bālaṭikada Bola tōpā yāluwā?
Madā nayphi racilā kadā Bola tōpā yāluwā.

Duana gaial sonda widaman, Panikkiyā.
Polla gaial sonda narwateṇ, Panikkiyā.
Manda gaial sonda bandaman, Panikkiyā.
Ada metanata eṇi, Gombara Panikkiya.

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[1] This is given in the Purana as follows (Wilson's translation, p. 44): "Formerly, oh best of Brahmans, when the truth-meditating Brahma was desirous of creating th world, there sprang from his mouth beings specially endowed with the quality o goodness; others from his breast,...others from his thighs,...and others from hi feet...."

The Vishnu Purana records (p. 90) that when Brahma found that his mind-bo progeny were unsuitable for peopling the world, "he was filled with wrath capable o consuming the three worlds, the flame of which invested, like a garland, heaven, eart and hell. Then from his forehead, darkened with angry frowns, sprang Rudr radiant as the noon-tide sun, fierce, of vast bulk, and of a figure which was half mal half female."

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The sky is becoming purple, O thou Friend!
The earth is becoming purple, O thou Friend!
Blows even the wind also, O thou Friend!
Even the small birds are flying also, O thou Friend!

From behind the yellow sun, draw, draw the sun's rays.
What is the (reason of the) delay, Chief Nila?

Shall I look, shall I look if a small heifer has stopped in the herd?
(that is, is in the herd).
Even a small heifer is not in the herd, O thou Friend!
Shall I look if a large heifer has stopped in the herd, O thou Friend?
A large heifer is also not in the herd, O thou Friend!

Should he take the bow, he is able to shoot well, the Panikkiya.
Should he take the cudgel, he is good at stopping (the buffaloes), the Panikkiya.
Should he take the noose, he is able to tie well, the Panikkiya.
Today he will come here, the speckled Panikkiya.

INVOCATIONS TO KANDE YAKA AND BILINDI YAKA.

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With a single exception (No. XXIII) all these invocations are recited in order to procure game. No. XV was sung whilst dancing round an arrow struck in the ground as is described in Chapter IX.

The remainder (with the exception of No. XXIII already noted) are sung at the *kirikoraka* ceremony. Although the invocations used at the *kirikoraka* ceremony present almost every stage of development, and some invocations such as Nos. XVIII and XXII are obviously composed of fragments belonging to different strata of belief, in every case the *yaku* called upon are the spirits of Kande Wanniya and his brother Bilindi.

No. XXIII is especially interesting, as it shows that such powerful foreign spirits as Riri Yaka and Indigollae Yaka when adopted into the Vedda system assumed Vedda characteristics, and so became subject to Kande Yaka.

Bandaraduwa.

XV. *Kandē sīpa Kandahapē nā kola andan*
Bō kola andan-tiala tanā
Sonda sonda gal guwarungē piyen piyana
Ōņ yannē maya kandē mul pola Wanniyā.

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Having made arrow-heads of the shape of Nā leaves,
Of the shape of Bō leaves, from hill to hill,
From foot-(print) to foot-(print) of excellent sambar deer,
There (he) goes, my Wanniyā of the Chief Place of the hill.

Mr Parker explains that the "chief place of the hill" is its crest or summit, but in every case in which the expression *Kandē mul pola Wanniyā* occurred in an invocation our informants explained that the expression was one of the names of Kande Yaka, and they clearly regarded these words as constituting a proper name. *Wanniya* is a common constituent of Vedda names, and has something of the significance of chief or leader. Mr Parker points out that it means "he of the Wanni" or "he of the forest track," and that it is a title given to Vedda chiefs in former times. Mr Parker considers this invocation important, [411] "since it shows that the arrow heads were of two shapes, a narrow one with nearly parallel sides (resembling the leaf of the *nā* tree or ironwood) like some Sinhalese arrows, and a broader one (resembling the *bō* leaf"). At the present day the heads of Vedda arrows are long and relatively narrow, that is, roughly of the shape of a leaf of the *nā* tree. We have not seen any arrow heads whose shape recalled the leaf of the *bō* tree.

INVOCATION TO KANDE YAKA AT THE KIRIKORAHA CEREMONY.

Sitala Wanniya.

XVI. *Kandaka siṭa kandakaṭa yanna yanna kandu nirindu wasti wasinnaw. Rērannē damaṇē siṭa kandē damaneṭa sonda sonda gal-gawe-ruṇnē piyen piya kurippi elayanna kandē mul pola Wanniyā.*

King of the Hills, who continues to go from hill to hill, cause rain[1]. (He is) the Wanniyā of the Chief place of the hill, who causes to fall the hoofs o excellent sambar deer, from foot (print) to foot (print), from Rērannē Damanē (the grass plain of teals) to Kandē Damanē (the grass plain of the hill)[2].

"*Nirindu* from *nara* and *indra*, a poetical expression meaning 'chief of men.' It is never used colloquially by Sinhalese.

"*Kurippi*=*kuṛippu* (Tamil) 'mark,' 'traces.'"

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[1] "Lit. rain rain."

[2] "These names signify respectively 'the grass plain of the teal' and 'the gras plain of the hill.' Dr Seligmann was told that these hills teemed with game thoug on inquiry it appeared that no men had visited them or knew their situation."

INVOCATION TO KANDE YAKA AT THE KIRIKORAHA CEREMONY.

Uniche.

XVII. *Mē kanda pita yanna yanna sē kandē mul pola Wanniyayi. Mē guru poda sili poda wasai wahinna wahinna konda konda magullamā piyen adi tiru yanne kandat mul pola Wanniya.*

It is the Wanniyā of the chief place (crest) of this hill who continues to go onto this hill. The Wanniyā of the chief place of the hill, who continues to cause (lit. to rain) this rain of great drops, drops from a dense (cloud), makes out foot-print by foot-(print) of excellent sambar deer.

INVOCATION TO BILINDI YAKA AT KIRIKORAHA CEREMONY.

Sitala Wanniya.

XVIII. *An asti ātē nan nasti gōnā atin alla dena sasti Bilindē Rājā. Tandena tānina tāna tandena tānine. Masā māyā mudu maddē e ran kotiyaki sawamine.*

Like (one) catching with (his) hand and giving the nameless sambar deer in the country where there are horns, (is) King Bilindi. Tandena tānina tāna tandena tānine. There is a golden flag in the midst of the sea full of fish, O Lord!

We consider that this invocation is certainly corrupt; further there can be no doubt that it should refer to an unnamed country and a horned sambar, as in invocation No. XXII, where, as pointed out by Mr Parker, the "unnamed country" is the applicant's own country which it was unnecessary for him to name.

DEDICATION OF FLESH AND RICE TO KANDE YAKA AND BILINDI YAKA[1].

Henebedda.

XIX. *Āyibohōwā, āyibohōwā. Kandē haeta hat kuttuwakata nāyakawū Kandē mulpola alut deyiyannānshēta Kandē Wanniyāta; Kan Miran Wanniyāta, Miran alut deyiyannānshēta; Dalumura Wanniyāta, Dalumura*

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[1] This was recited at Henebedda over the food the dedication of which we have described on p. 220. Plate XXVIII, fig. 2 is a reproduction of a photograph taken while the shaman dedicated the food.

1;Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
AX5 Vedda AX5

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alut deyiyannānshēṭa; Ru aḍukku Wanniyāṭa, Ru aḍukku alut deyiyannānsēṭa; Daḍayan Wanniyāṭa, Daḍayan alut deyiyannānshēṭa; Bilindi Wanniyāṭa, Bilindi alut deyiyannānshēṭa. Adāt man mē oppu karadena ru aḍukkuwaṭa tamunnānsēlā īlaren weḍīlaren hohāleren piyāleren diwas karunā karagena mē daḍa waddāṭa aeli gawaruṇ gal gawaruṇ atin allā dī tmunēṭa weḍimunṭ awu karawā denḍa yahapoti. Āyibōhowā, āyibōhowā.

Long life, long life to Kandē Wanniyā, to the new god of the chief place of the hill who has become the chief of the Group of the Sixty-Seven of the Hill; to Kan Miran Wanniyā, to the new god Miran; to Dalumura Wanniyā, to the new god Dalumura; to Ru aḍukku Wanniyā, to the new god Ru aḍukku; to Daḍayan Wanniyā, to the new god Daḍayan; to Bilindi Wanniyā, to the new god Bilindi.

Today, also, granting your divine favour to the beautiful cooked food of this offering which I give, as quickly as an arrow, as quickly as a gunshot, as quickly as an egret, as quickly as flying, having caught with the hand and given to this hunting Vaedda axis deer and sambar, may it seem good (to you) to arrange them at the point of the arrow, at the point of the gun-shot, and give (them there). Long life, long life!

"The 'Group of the Sixty-seven,' the *Haeṭa-hat Kaṭṭuwa*, is well-known in the North-western Province. These are nearly all Baṇḍāra or deified chiefs. Though still called 'the Sixty-seven,' their number is now well over a hundred.

"Kan Miran Wanniyā and his three associates are the subordinates or the attendants on Kandē Yaka. I cannot explain the duties of Kan Miran Wanniyā; Dalumura Wanniyā is the one who presents Kande Yaka with betel; Ru Aḍukku Wanniyā presents him with cooked food, and Daḍayan Wanniyā kills game for him.

"*Weḍi* is the word always used for a gun-shot by Sinhalese and Tamils; also for the explosion of the charge when blasting."

Godatalawa.

XX. *Hat Bilindēvataāwā anguru mas yahana balāgalla.*
Kandē Wanniyā anguru mas yahana balāgallā.
Dalumura Wanniyā anguru mas yahana balāgallā.
Puluṭṭā anguru mas yahana balāgallā.
Riddē Wanniyā anguru mas yahana balāgallā.

Seven Bilindi godlings, look at the altar of meat (fried on) charcoal.
Kandē Wanniyā, look at the altar of meat (fried on) charcoal.
Dalumura Wanniyā, look at the altar of meat (fried on) charcoal.
Puluṭṭā, look at the altar of meat (fried on) charcoal.
Riddē Wanniyā, look at the altar of meat (fried on) charcoal.

This formula was given us by an old man Handuna of Godatalawa, both as a dedication of food to Kande Yaka, and an invocation asking for game. We cannot explain the expression *Hāt Bilindīvatāwā*; to Handuna it was a synonym for Bilindi, and he assured us that the first line was addressed to Bilindi Yaka. Mr Parker points out that Puluṭṭā may mean "fried meat Wanniyā" and Riddē Wanniyā, "the Wanniyā who caused pain." If this be so Puluṭṭā must be regarded as the Wanniya who fried meat for Kande Yaka[1]. We can offer no suggestion as to the significance of the expression "the Wanniyā who caused pain."

INVOCATION TO BILINDI YAKA AT THE KIRIKORAHA CEREMONY.

Menebedda.

Sung while the shaman dances with a coconut and *aude* as shown in Plate XXIX, figs. 1 and 2.

XXI. *Tandana, tānina, tāna tandana; tandana tānina tāninā.*
Āppuge wayasat bohō awu(ri)di naeti, sat awuruddāyi pasu unā.
Sat awuruddaṭa sādā wela gos e ran Banḍāra, Sāminē.
Tandana tānina tāna tandana; tandana tānina tāninā.

Āppusāmiṭa wiyapu haeriya piyum dānayi, Sāminē.
Āppusāmiṭa wiyapu pupuwē piyum dānayi, Sāminē.
Elamal kiru mā aendaṭa haeriya sima gangu raeli wihidenā.
Tandana tānina tāna tandana; tandana tānina tāninā.

Kawi kiyanḍat bayē baeri maṭa, udahasaṭ wai wēda! ayiyō!
Nan naeti baeddē an aeti gēna ātan allā dena Sāwāmi.
Kanda uḍin darana salan sillaṭa surumē handalen tama minē.
Kusē uḍan nakāma malayā maerewē nana tambaemapada, Nayidē
Kusē uḍan nade malayat aeragena ediliṇ kārapan, Nayidē
An aeti gawarā allā dena kohi Maenik-talāwē Bilindē dewiyō.

Tandana etc.
The age of the Chief's Son was not many years; seven years had gone by.
A time equal to seven years having gone (he became) the Forest Chief,
O Lord.
Tandana etc.

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[1] There is another possibility; on the analogy of the *[illegible]* ceremony described at the end of this chapter it may be suggested that Puluṭṭā was held to be the first Vedda to offer fried meat at this ceremony. We do not consider this probable however.

782 There were a thousand flowers on the cloth woven for the Chief's Son,
O Lord!
639 There were a thousand flowers on the seat plaited for the Chief's Son,
O Lord!
The cloth he wore, worked with *alamal* flowers and the parrot (?), like the
waves of the river is spread out.
Tandana etc.
Through fear I cannot sing songs (properly). Will there be any anger (on
account of it)? Alas!
The (rain) wind which he sent down from above the hill to the verdure is
wetting with tears the face
(Of) the Lord who in the nameless jungle catches with his hands and gives
the sambar deer possessing horns.
For what (fear of) solitude did (you) kill your own younger brother born of
the same mother, O Nayidē?
Taking your younger brother born of the same mother play games (with
him), O Nayidē.
(Addressing Bilindi) You are able to catch and give sambar deer possessing
horns, O God Bilindi of Maeaik-talāwa.

The words *ran Baṇḍāra* which are here translated Forest Chief might also mean Golden Chief. As already stated it appears to us that in the majority of these invocations the adjective "golden" is used to signify "excellent" or "admirable," but concerning this Mr Parker writes:

"*Ran* as an adjective almost always means 'golden,' but in such a case ought to be spelt with *ṇ*. I inserted preferentially 'Forest' in this case, as there is no reason given why he should suddenly become golden. I should generally understand 'golden' to mean 'of a golden nature or colour'; I do not think it would ever be applied to a person or deity who is dark coloured, however excellent he might be. I have heard a path termed 'like gold' by way of emphasising its excellence, but it is very unusual to employ it with this meaning."

In spite of the weight that must be attached to Mr Parker's opinion we do not agree with him in this matter, and in support of our opinion adduce the expression "golden jewelled cord" in invocation No. XXVI. We may also mention that in the invocation to Kosgama Baṇḍāra, the hero's corpse is described as "golden[1]."

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[1] Cf. *Man*, 1909, where is given the translation of the invocation used in calling upon Kosgama for assistance.

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Mr Parker points out that in line 7 *mā* may stand for *mahā* or *masā*, sewn. Line 12 may be understood in two ways according to whether we read "For what (fear of) solitude," etc., or "For what need of solitude," etc. According to one account Kande Yaka killed his younger brother Bilindi because he felt lonely as a *yaka* and yearned for his company. This was the legend we heard at Henebedda, but another version makes Kande Wanniya kill his infant brother in a fit of temper because Bilindi being hungry annoyed him by constant whining. The thirteenth line, in which Kande Yaka is addressed as Nayidē, suggests that the Henebedda version of the legend is here referred to in the preceding line. We were told that Nayidē was here used as a name for Kande Yaka but could not discover the reason for this. Mr Parker points out that in Sinhalese *nayidē* simply means artificer.

INVOCATION TO BILINDI YAKA AT THE KIRIKORAHA CEREMONY.

Uniche.

XXII. *Kapā maṇik gal eitā, bāpata lela-didī tamā, ela kiralā acandapu hecciya sīma raelipaḍa wiki-dunā. Appuge*[1] *wayasat bohō kalak aeti tun awuruddayi pasu wunē. Nan naeti desē, an aeti gōṇā allā denawada Bilindi Rajā.*

Having cut the Gem-rock thereby himself removing the command (regarding it), like the folds of the waves are spread out is the bleached cloth he wore. It will be a long time since three years of the Chief's son's age passed. In the unnamed country will you catch and give a sambar deer with horns, King Bilindi?

This invocation obviously consists of two parts, embodying ideas belonging to very different strata of thought. The last sentence requires no more than a reference to invocation No. XVIII, to explain "the unnamed country." The sentence before this refers to the belief that Bilindi was three years old when Kande Yaka killed him. Probably these two sentences belong to the same stratum of belief, and certainly the Veddas understood what they meant. It was otherwise with regard to the first part of this invocation, our informants could not tell

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[1] Appu for Appuhāmi, the former title of the son of a chief.

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us what this meant or even translate it, though our interpreter stated that he thought it had something to do with the dress of the *yaka*. Clearly this part of the invocation is foreign, and Mr Parker suggests that since Bilindi means "the child" there is "a possibility that he is Ayiyanār, the guardian Forest Deity of Ceylon, who is represented at Tanjore as a youth. Bilindi is said by Nevill to be the son of the (Indigollaewa) Kiri Amma, who is identified by the Sinhalese as Mohini, a female personification of Vishnu; and Ayiyanār is the son of Mohini." This is supported by the reference to the Gem-rock, for as Mr Parker writes "the Kiri Amma split the sapphire gem at the sapphire mountain." Thus in the later part of the invocation, Ayiyanār may have been assimilated to Bilindi Yaka.

INVOCATION WITH BOW TO DETERMINE WHAT YAKA HAS CAUSED ILLNESS.

Sitala Wanniya.

XXIII. *Ayibōwā, āyibōwā. Tummaṇkaḍa suwāmin wahansa gal pēnaṭa, dunu pēnaṭa, suba pēnaṭa ahu karala denḍa ōnae. Mayē pēnaṭa enḍa ōnae. Kandē Wanniyā boru pēna at-haera leḍa kala yakā maṭa ada ahu karawanḍa ōnae. Rīri Yakā Indilegolle Yakā, Rāhu Yakun, Paṭṭa Yakun, mē suba pēnaṭa ahu karala denḍa ōnaē.*

Long life! Long life! Lord of Tamankaduwa, through (my) stones' soothsaying, through bows' soothsaying, through auspicious soothsaying, (you) must catch and give (him). Through my soothsaying, (he) must come. Kande Wanniya, having laid aside false soothsaying, (you) must cause me to seize today the Yaka who caused the sickness. (Whether) Riri Yaka, Indilegolle Yaka[1], Rahu Yaku, or Patta Yaku, through this auspicious soothsaying (you) must seize and give (him).

Rīri Yakā or Sīri Yakā is the blood demon of the Sinhalese. The Rahu Yaku appear to correspond to the Sinhalese demon Rahu Yaka[2]. We consider this invocation important as it definitely expresses what we found to be the general opinion among the

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[1] Clearly a slip for Indigollae Yaka.

[2] He was originally an Asura who surreptitiously drank some of the *amrita* produced by the Gods and Demons. Mohini cut off his head, but it had become immortal and was transformed into the planetary sign (personified) which causes eclipses by trying to swallow the sun and moon because they drew the attention of Mohini to him. For the substance of this note we are indebted to Mr Parker.

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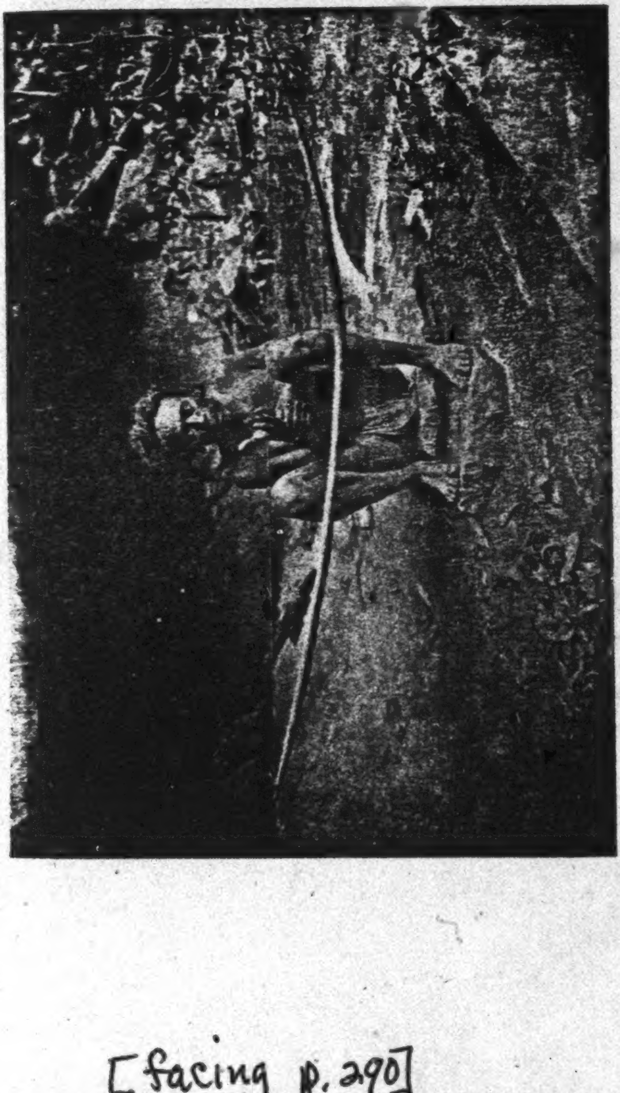
Plate LV



Nila holding bow while reciting invocation No. XXIII. When the name of the *yaka* causing the illness is spoken the bow swings to and fro

[facing p. 290]

wilder Veddas. Kande Yaka is called upon to help, he is the spirit of a dead Vedda, one of themselves, and would never be suspected of sending sickness. It is only the stranger who brings evil things. But Kande Yaka is more powerful than the foreign *yaku* and by his help it is discovered which of them has caused sickness. In the field we found reason to believe that Indigollae Yaka and Riri Yaka and the Rahu Yaku were foreign in origin, we did not however suspect Patta Yaka, but Mr Parker says, "The Patta Yaku are diseases personified, and are male and female. The Sinhalese enumerate twelve or eighteen called Garā (m.) or Girī (f.); of these two are Paṭṭa Garā and Paṭṭa Girī. They especially afflict women and children."

INVOCATIONS USED WHILE COLLECTING HONEY.

Godatalawa.

XXIV. *Alut dēvi hāmuduruwō, machiheli gamak pennanța ōnai ada. Kepala hangați yannan.*

Lady New Goddess, (you) must show (me) a bee-hive today. Having chopped (it out) I will hide (it) and go.

Mr Parker suggests that the honey gatherer "hints to the Goddess that he and she will divide the honey between them, unknown to the other Vaeddas and that thus she will obtain a larger share than usual." This would be quite contrary to Vedda ethics, and it seems to us more probable that the honey is hidden in order to prevent the bees carrying it away. The gatherer might well be fatigued after his exertions and would certainly not attempt to rest in the immediate neighbourhood of the bees he had robbed, nor would he leave the honey exposed where it would attract the bees.

Unuwatura Bubula.

XXIV A. *Raja Omungalliyē*
Mī guruwen Ammā
Guru bala rakiņā
Mī warawal kepāla bassala
Dum paliyen pannala
Kaḍawen kepāla

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Paliyața damâlâ
Mîrae mîriya paeni geṇaedin
Geṇen geṇen baḍagiṇi
Aerenna hanna.

O Omungalla Sovereign!
Mother—by this respect (paid to you)—
Who protects (us) by (your) great authority!
Having cut and lowered the (ladder of) great cane,
Having driven off (the bees) by the shield of smoke,
Having cut (the comb) with the sword,
Having put (it) down into the vessel,
Having fetched the sweetest honey[1]. Bring (it),
Bring (it) (for us) to eat, to lay aside (our) hunger.

Nevill has recorded a very similar invocation which he obtained from a Vedda of Walimbagala (Friar's Hood)[2]. He also records the following invocation which was given him by a Vedda of Omuni.

Maehi-keli Waniyâ
Gal naewili Waniyâ
Maehi kelaune maehi urâl
Hinâ-maten keli kôpayen
Oppu ganawâ tobâ deyiyen.

Bee Wanniya,
Wanniya of rock worship!
(Of) the honey-comb of the bees,
Laughing at the anger of the bees,
Be pleased to take the offering,
O thou from the Gods!

The above translation has been prepared by Mr Parker and is rather more literal than either of Nevill's translations, for he gives two. That printed below shows "the sense that the construction and words of this invocation convey" to a Vedda.

"Oh Lord of the Bees!
Oh Lord of the Rock!
Honeycombs of honey bee,
With laughter and with merriness,
I offer them to Thee."

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[1] Or "sweet honey like toddy."
[2] *Op. cit.* Vol. II, p. 167.

Nevill records that "after each line" his informant "threw a little honey, the first cut from the cliff, to the Spirit of the Rock, and then proceeded to take the rest of the combs. He told me it was an ancient custom his ancestors followed, called 'paeni adina yadinda,' or to 'charm the drawing of honey.'"

Henebedda.

XXV. *Bori, Bori, Wanniyē.*
Nilwan pāliya neden kiyā, ē kīmaṭa kāṭū ipal wēlen gācā widinñayi kiyā daelen daelaṭa. Aendun waeṭī enni māyē kumala Wanniyē.
Ekē mōhat kōdeyi kiyā, daelen daelaṭa katu īpal gāsā widinnī widinnī.
Diya aendūn waeṭīgena yanḍōmō yannī nan yannī.
Mal aendun waeṭīgena yanni nan yannī.
Guru aendun waeṭīgena yanḍōmō yannī nam yannī.
Ela aendun waeṭīgena yanḍōmō yannī nam yannī.
Aenga wāṭē baendīgena yanḍōmō yannī nam yannī.

The translation of the heading of this invocation is "Stanza said by Veddas when cutting *bambara* on a hill or tree."

(Their sound is) *bori, bori*, O Wanniya[1]!

When (I) said[2], "(I) will not give (you) the dark-coloured vessel[3]" (containing the honey), at that remark company by company (of bees) said, "From (this) time, having beaten (you as if with) thorny rods, (we) will pierce" (you with our stings). (My) clothes are falling off (on account of the stinging), O my dear Wanniya!

When (I) said "There is nothing in it" (the vessel), company by company (of bees) having beaten (me as if with) thorny rods are piercing, are piercing (me with their stings).

(My) watered clothes (i.e. cloth with waved pattern) falling off, (I) am indeed setting off to go, (I) am going.

(My) flowered clothes falling off, I am indeed going, I am going.

(My) dark clothes falling off, I am indeed setting off to go, I am going.

(My) white clothes falling off, I am indeed setting off to go, I am going.

Tying (the clothes) round (my) body I am indeed setting off to go, I am going.

[*] *Maligi* is presumably *mālinī*, a form of stanza.

[1] *Bori, bori* is onomatopoeic of the humming of bees.

[2] Lit. "having said."

[3] Mr Parker considers that *nilwan paliya* should be translated "blue-coloured" but that it may also mean "black" or "dark-coloured." As the result of our examination of the colour sense and colour names of the Veddas detailed in Chapter XIV we are convinced that in the present instance "dark-coloured" is the correct reading.

"*Pālipa*, a vessel. The word occurs with this meaning in another invocation.

"*Kumala*, that is *komala*, tender.

"*Yandāna yanni* for *yandanna yanne*, a common expression in Sinhalese.

"*Aendun* (properly *aendum*), 'clothes,' is in the plural, and means much more than a loin cloth. A European's dress—the various articles collectively—is called *aendum*.

"*Guru* often applied to a purple sky may also mean 'excellent'; perhaps it might here mean dark."

This is one of the invocations of which we obtained no satisfactory translation in the field. Mr Parker holds that "the whole invocation is devoted to explaining to the Wanniya the suppliant's urgent need of his assistance, without which he will be compelled to abandon the work."

We consider it far more probable that the honey collector is essentially talking at the bees while apparently talking to the Wanniya and his companions at the top of the crag[1]. While helping himself to the honey he explains—for the benefit of the bees—that having heard their determination to sting him, he was hurrying away in such haste that his clothes are falling from him, notwithstanding that he has told the bees that there is nothing, i.e. no honey, in his collecting pot.

INVOCATION BEFORE TAKING BAMBARA HONEY, SUNG BY A MAN AS HE IS LOWERED OVER THE CLIFF.

Bandaraduwa.

XXVI. *Tobā deyiyani, tobā deyiyani, alut mala upān naewini sīnāwe hitam, hamādiyen, machihellanni machi ural etpu aeragena, issara aeki machicci alut mala upan naewini sīnāwa, passē aeki machicci mala upan naewini sīnāwa, machihellan ammā appā wāgē hella, mē ran unini hendata dēva diwas pāla, tobā deyyani, tobā deyyani, tobā deyyani.*

Ara maya, ara maya, āluta Wannī Hurun, daelen daelata hātu ipal gasā yanni, aluta Wannī Huruniyē.

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[1] There is nothing to show who is the Wanniya addressed. If—as appears certain—the honey gatherer speaks to another Vedda on the cliff above him, this formula scarcely comes under the heading of this chapter (Invocations), but it is undoubtedly convenient to keep this with the other invocations sung while collecting honey.

Ara maya, āra maya, tellun bāḍa mangē pādama hawudat aḍun paḍun kādeyi kiyalā, issaṭa karaṭa ḍijen duwā yanāē, āluta Wanni Hurunēyē.

You Gods, You Gods! By the good will and superiority (?) of the newly dead and reborn new host (of spirits), taking (there) offerings of honey-comb of the bees, you who may be the first destroyed of the newly dead and reborn new host (of spirits, and) you who may be the subsequently destroyed of the newly dead and reborn new host (of spirits),—having caused the bees to sport (round me) like a mother or father, protect this golden jewelled cord (i.e. the ladder of creepers) by (your) divine eyes, you Gods, you Gods.

That (honey) is mine, that is mine, New Wanni Lords. Company by company, (as if with) thorny rods, (you) keep beating (me), O New Wanni Lords (i.e. the bees).

That (honey) is mine, that is mine. (Regarding your) hard (or excessive) blows on the very feet that ascended (the ladder of creepers), no one having said there are deficiencies, (yet) you are going running from my back to my head and neck, O New Wanni Lords (i.e. to give still more blows or stings).

"This invocation contains several expressions not met with previously, and I can only give doubtful translations of part of it.

"*Naewini* probably *nawina*, 'fresh' or 'new.' I think it has nothing to do with *nǟ wenawā*, to become a relative, the first word of which is always pronounced with a long vowel by both Vaeddas and Sinhalese.

"*Hamādiya*, from *samna* 'all' and *ādiya* 'first,' or *ādika* 'great.'

"*Öipu* for *oppu*, proofs, evidence; but used by Vaeddas and Wanniyas for offering.

"*Maekicca*, from v. *makanawā*, 'to obliterate,' 'to destroy.'

"*Kella*, from v. *kelinawā*, 'to sport.'

"*Aekī* for *haeki*, possible.

"*Ara maya* is unlikely to be *aeruma*, verbal noun of *arinawā*, 'to leave,' or 'to let go.'

'*Tellun*, pl. of *taelluma*, v. noun of *talanawā*, 'to beat.'

"*Bādū* may be *bāḍa*, 'hard,' 'solid' or *bāḍha*, 'promise' or 'much,' 'excessive.'

"*Aḍun paḍun*, pl. of *aḍupāḍuwa*, 'deficiency.'

"*Kādeyi* means 'it is not,' or 'there is not,' from *naeḍawa*, 'not.' In the last paragraph of this invocation the negative is expressed thus: 'some having said there are not deficiencies.'"

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This is one of the invocations of which we could only obtain an explanation in part, but luckily our informants were perfectly clear as to the meaning they attached to the first part of the invocation, and we feel confident that the following lines give the significance attached by them to this part of this invocation.

You spirits, you spirits of the recently dead and of the old dead, you *nae* (relative) spirits, take this offering of honey comb and protect me as a father and mother. Protect this rope.

Concerning the word *upan* which in this invocation Mr Parker translates "reborn," this authority writes, "*Upan* which I have translated reborn, literally means 'born'; but the other word more correctly expresses the meaning.…The view I should take of the matter is that the person died and was buried. Then when the Vaeddas find him or his spirit in existence again they term it a re-birth in the world of spirits. This kind of expression is common in Buddhism; compare *kelawara devlowa upannīya*, 'he was (re)born in the final god-world' (Dhātuvaṇsa)."

Although the Veddas of Bandaraduwa have come very much under foreign influence we feel convinced that they have no such carefully formulated ideas of re-birth as Mr Parker suggests, and we believe that the words of the invocation and the significance that the Veddas attach to it, can be harmonized without doing violence to Vedda modes of religious thought, by considering the translation as being from the comparatively unimportant *preta* to the full powered *yaka*, though as pointed out by Mr Parker, this would not be re-birth in the usual Sinhalese (Buddhist) sense.

With regard to the expression *nāē* (relative) spirits in the Vedda version, Mr Parker writes: "If *naewini* were a mistake for *nāē wena*, the translation of the first part after 'Gods' would be, 'By the goodwill and superiority of the newly dead and *reborn host who are becoming* (*our*) *relatives*.'" The words in italics indicate only the meaning of the words *alut mala upan naewini sēṇdāwa*.

Nāē wena sēndāwa is *nāē*, "kinsfolk," *wena*, "becoming," and *sēndāwa*, "host," "multitude."

1;Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
AX5 Vedda AX5

INVOCATIONS TO BAMBURA YAKA.

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The invocations to Bambura Yaka are the most puzzling of all those we collected. None of our informants understood them and the translations given were fragmentary, or else we were told that although the words of the sentences could be translated so as to make some sort of sense, the significance of the invocation was unknown, or if appreciated did not necessarily agree with the meaning of the literal translation. Further, although it is certain that Bambura Yaka especially gives success in searching for yams and hunting pig, Mr Parker's translations make it quite certain that these invocations really apply to honey collecting. The reference to the "golden creeper," i.e. the ladder made of jungle creepers and used in taking honey, lowered across the face of the Inginiya rock makes this certain. Nevertheless both at Sitala Wanniya and Uniche, invocations with these expressions in them were recited as invocations to Bambura Yaka to send pig, and none of our informants regarded Bambura Yaka as having anything to do with honey. It may be suggested tentatively that the resemblance in sound of Bambura the home of the *yaka* and *bambara*, the word for the rock bee, may have brought about this confusion.

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Sitala Wanniya.

XXVII. *Mē magē Bamburaṇi, Bamburaṇi. Magē Bamburō bat kaddī nāḍaw nāḍaw gala gala suniyaniyē.*

Mē masā muraṭaṭa goḍu maḍānī maḍukaṭ bāpu kaṭaṭa sindu dendō koṇa no kiyandō. Mē kuḍā Inginiyā galaṭa bāpu ran waela galat gala gala mē waru waeṭī golō.

This is my Bamburā, Bamburā. While my Bamburā is eating rice make a sound, make a sound, "gala, gala"—save, save (him)—by magic.

At this very instant destroying the mounds (on the face of the rock) be pleased to give to the mouth that has eaten honey (the power to sing) songs (correctly and) not to speak nonsense. Save, save (both) the golden creeper that has been lowered down this little Inginiya rock and the rock, (or otherwise) this time the rock will fall.

"Bamburō (pl.) and Bamburani are honorific forms of Bamburā. Compare *Maharajani*, used in addressing a king.

"*Nādaw* for *nāḍa karapan*, or perhaps *nāḍa wayan*, 'may there be a sound.'

"*Gala gala*. Compare *galawanawā*, 'to save,' 'deliver.'

"*Masā*, probably *mṛila*, from root *mṛil*, Skt. 'to touch.'

"*Murata* for *muhūrta*, a moment.

"*Goḍu*, pl. of *goḍa*, a mound.

"*Maḍānī* for *madaṇa*, from root *mṛid*, Skt. to crush, destroy.

"*Bāpu* from v. *bānawā*, to lower.

"*Bana kiyanda*, 'to repeat the Buddhist Scriptures,' is used colloquially with the meaning here given.

"*Golō* for *galo*, 'rock,' as in another invocation addressed to this *yaka*."

Mr Parker writes: "This is a prayer for the protection of the ladder of creepers down which the honey gatherer descends, and also to prevent the fall of loose pieces of projecting rock on his head. First the suppliant asks for magical words to arouse the attention of the *yaka*. The rest of the invocation is evidently addressed to the *yaka* himself."

Uniche.

XXVIII. *Mī Inginiya galaṭa bāpu ran waela waelat wael mī wara waeṭīyī. Mī apa Bamburō bat kana ran mandī. Mārtu mal andan sanī galō. Mī apa Bamburō bat kaddī nādaw, nāḍaw gal gala suniyanī.*

The golden creeper and the jungle creepers lowered down this Inginiya rock will fall this time (unless protected by the Yaka). This (rock) is the golden plate off which our Bambura eats rice. It is a rock made in the form of the Marut flower. While this our Bambura is eating rice make a sound, make a sound, "gal, gala"—save save (him)—by magic.

"*Waelat* is probably *wala* plus *t*, forest or jungle.

"*Mārtu* for *marut*, a plant.

"*Andan* for *andama*, manner, state.

"*Galō* for *gala*, rock.

"Apparently it is the rock which is expected to emit a nois that will arouse the attention of the *yaka*. The suppliant praises it in order to propitiate it."

This invocation was not understood by our informants, no could we ascertain that it was sung to any *yaka* other than on who was called Mulpola Hitiye Yaka, "the *yaka* who stopped a the summit of the hill[1]." Unfortunately we omitted to ask whether this was a synonym for Kande Yaka who, in other invocations, is addressed as Kande Mulpola Wanniya, but the tone of the whole invocation with its reference to the "sword called Golden" is as unlike any other invocation to Kande as it well can be. This invocation is thoroughly foreign in form and sentiment.

Sitala Wanniya.

Invocation addressed to Mulpola Hitiye Yaka, "the yaka who stopped at the Chief Place," i.e. the summit of the hill, at the Bambura ceremony.

XXIX. *Ran nan kaduwal nawa danitot*
Apala Wanniye nawa no kiyā.
Apala Wanniye nawa danitot
Ran nan kaduwal nawa no kiyā.

Angara naṭun naṭana Wanniyā
Sonda sonda bera pada gasīpan.
Sellan naṭun naṭana Wanniyā
Sonda sonda bera pada gasīpan.

If you know the eulogy of the sword called Golden
Do not say the praise of our Wanniya.
If you know the eulogy of our Wanniya
Do not say the praise of the sword called Golden.

To the Wanniya who dances gesture-dances
Beat excellent tunes (lit. verses) on the tom-tom.
To the Wanniya who dances sportive-dances
Beat excellent tunes on the tom-tom.

Our informants, though providing a translation of the words of this invocation which approximates to the translation given by Mr Parker, could not tell us the significance thereof. Indeed they were only clear on one matter, that in spite of what the invocation said they had no drums and never had had drums. Handuna stated that the translation of the second verse should be:—

Sing loudly to him who dances the *angara* dance.
Sing loudly to him who dances playful dances.

None could say what the *angara* dance might be.

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[1] Or perhaps the *yaka* to whom the Mulpola Hitiye belonged. Hitiye whatever else it may signify is also the ancient name for a particular form of pointed weapon.

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Mr Parker suggests that the meaning of the first verse "may be that the Wanniya is too important a personage for anything else to be praised in the same breath (even his golden sword), and that 'at the same time' is to be understood at the end of the second and fourth lines of the translation."

Mr Parker also suggests that Mulpola Hitiye Yaka may be a synonym of "Gale Yaka (Yaka of the Rock) who danced on hills, and whose worshippers dance on many hills or crags of the Vaedi-rata as well as the North-western Province. *Hitiye* is a participial adjective derived from *hitinawa* to stay or stop; the literal translation of *mulpola hitiye Yaka* is 'Chief-place-stopped-Yaka!'"

INVOCATION AT PREGNANCY CEREMONY.

Sitala Wanniya.

Us Mukkāliya[1] Song, at pregnancy dance.

XXX. *Us mukkāliya waṭe, maeda mukkāliya waṭē, bāla kaṇuwa waṭē paena daewaṭī ennau, dēvatāwayi.*

Having jumped round the high tripod, round the middle tripod, round the small post, come, wrapped up. (He) is a Dēvatāwa (godling).

This invocation was recited by the dancers at the pregnancy ceremony described on pp. 247 to 251. We do not understand to whom the last sentence "(He) is a Devatawa (godling)" applies. On receiving Mr Parker's translation we suggested that this might refer to the unborn child, but Mr Parker pointed out that he would not expect a child to be called a *devatawa*, and that "it is of the worst augury to speak in terms of praise of any child." Mr Parker therefore understands "the word *devatawa* to refer in a complimentary manner to the spirit which is asked to come." This idea agrees with the information we obtained in the field, where a somewhat doubtful translation of this invocation was given as follows: those who jump between the *us mukkāliya*, the *meda mukkāliya*, and the *balakanuwa* are *devatawa* (pl.). It was explained that the invocation referred to the performers, and that the expression "are *devatawa*" was the equivalent to saying "are possessed of *yaku*," since to Veddas of Sitala Wanniya *devatawa* was a synonym for *yaka*.

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[1] *Mukkāliya* is formed from two Tamil words, *mūnḍu* "three," and *kāl* "legs."

DOLA YAKA CEREMONY.

Sitala Wanniya.

Invocation to Dola Yaka.

XXXI. *Kadat kada Doliyē. Mal bandinā tanga andagālā saddamayi. Bindōli damanna damaguna bindōliyē, mal bandinā pamawayi.*

Our informants could not translate this invocation or even state its meaning. Mr Parker supplies the following "doubtful translation":

> Bit by bit, O Dolliyā. At the place where the flowers (or necklaces) are tied there is a noise of calling (for us). The fixing of the demon offerings (*dola*) on the ground, the fixing of the demon offerings on the ground causes delay in tying the flowers (or necklaces).

"*Doli* is usually a swing, but apparently this cannot be the meaning here. *Dola* is especially an offering to evil spirits who are demons, such as Riri Yaka.

"It is uncertain if the first *doliyē* should be translated 'O Offering!'

"In Clough's Dictionary one meaning of *kada* is 'arrow,' but it is very doubtful if the Vaeddas ever use it with this signification, indeed, I have never known *kada* used for arrow. Everywhere the Vaeddas and Sinhalese say *ī*, *īya*, *īgaha*, *ītala*. The translation—'arrow by arrow'—would, however, suit the ceremony."

INVOCATION TO INDIGOLLAE YAKA AT THE KIRIKORAHA CEREMONY.

Sitala Wanniya.

XXXII. *Itiriya-kanda Madarus gala wāḍiyā. Ī dahasak gena surasāpu dunu ḍiyā, Indigollē devi wandiyot sukō wiyā. Mini riri orumahaṭa tibunip bonnip lamā.*

Madara-gala at Itiriya-kanda (is your) lodging. Having brought a thousand arrows (and) decorated bowstrings, God of Indigolla, should you

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come may (you) be fortunate. While putting (your mouth) to a boat (shaped vessel) of human blood (and) while drinking (may you be) delighted[1].

At Sitala Wanniya Indigollae Yaka was regarded as an attendant upon Kande Yaka. It is therefore obvious that this invocation did not arise at Sitala Wanniya or among any Veddas retaining their original *yaka* beliefs, and it is in fact an excellent example of the foreign element in the Vedda religion, and is especially interesting because it is possible in this case to indicate how an invocation of horrific nature has been introduced.

This matter has been discussed in the addendum to Chapter VIII; we may, however, suggest that the boat-shaped vessel of blood may refer to the murder of the 60 priests.

What we have written on p. 165 concerning the attributes of Indigollae Yaka among the village Veddas of Unuwatura Bubula shows that he has entered their beliefs as a powerful but beneficent spirit, though revengeful of neglect or insult. At Sitala Wanniya he is a *yaka* attendant on Kande Yaka. He may have attained this position immediately on his adoption, in which case his terrifying invocation must have been subsequently introduced and carelessly attached to the friendly *yaka*. Or the invocation, which is clearly only a fragment of a long formula, may portray something of his character when first adopted, and though his attributes have been softened to the usual friendly quality of Vedda *yaku*, a portion of the invocation appropriate to him may have lingered. We consider the first of these hypotheses the more likely, but in any case the existence among the Veddas of Sitala Wanniya of the foreign Indigollae Yaka as a beneficent attendant on Kande Yaka, who is nevertheless invoked with a formula typical of a bloodthirsty Sinhalese demon, is a most interesting example of the foreign elements that we now find in the Vedda religion.

INVOCATION TO THE MAHA KIRIAMMA.

Sitala Wanniya.

XXXIII. *Sorambara waewē sonda sonda nelun aeti. Ewā nelunnaṭa sonda sonda liyō yati, eka muṇu baḍu*[2] *baendana yati senaga pam ba Sorambara pasu karaṇa yati Pangara-gammanā.*

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[1] Deriving *lamā* from *ram*.

[2] *eka muṇu baḍu* for *ek-emunu baḍu*, things strung together.

In Horabora tank there will be excellent lotus. To gather them excellent women go; tying on strings of beads they go. The multitude who cherish affection, leaving Horabora behind, go to Pangara gammana.

The Veddas of Sitala Wanniya told us that they did not invoke the Kiriamma with offerings for the cure of sickness though they had heard that the Veddas of the Bintenne did so and Handuna gave us these lines as part of the Bintenne invocation, which he said he had learnt from his father. He only understood the first few words which he translated "There are fine lotus in Horaboraweva and fine women go to pluck them." A variant of this invocation—if such it be—has been published by Mr Louis De Zoysa[1] as a song of the Veddas of Horaborawewa.

Sorabora vevē sonda oṭu neṭum ę
Mīwā nelannaṭa sonda liyę e
Kalu karalā kudu karalā uyā de
Oṭu sālē bat kannaṭa māḷu nę.

Fine, fine water-lilies and lotuses grow in Sorobora tank!
These to gather come fine, fine women.
They make them into black and white curries;
To eat the water-lily-seed rice there are no curries.

Obviously both versions are corrupt and have been derived from an invocation (No. XXXIX) sung at the *kolamaduwa* ceremony.

INVOCATION TO THE KIRIAMMA OF INDIGOLLAEWA ASKING FOR SUCCESS IN HUNTING.

Bandaraduwa.

XXXIV. *Īrt kanḍa Monara galada wäḍiyā*
Ī dakasak wida tara karaṭu dunu ḍiyā
Yanḍa enḍa diya pā man balāpiyā
Indigollē Devi waeḍiyot subā wīyā

Aeli gigiran piṭa inda walu kaṭina lamā
Diya gigiran piṭa inda diyu damana lamā
Naddunnē dunu diya ata kudā lamā
Riri oruwa piṭa sakman karana lamā

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[1] Note on the Origin of the Veddas, with a few specimens of their songs and charms. *Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1881, Vol. VII, Part II, p. 102.

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Oba tula rajuṭa oba tula wāḍī arraṇḍu la
Meba tula rajuṭa meba tula wāḍī arraṇḍu la
De pili rajuṭa de pili wāḍī arraṇḍu la
Tava unama nidida? *Dan tula raju marāṭula la.*

Iri-kanda (Sow-hill) and Monara-gala (Peacock-rock) are (her) resting-places.
(She has) a thousand arrows, and bow-strings made with strength to pierce.
Look at the path on which her watery feet come and go.
Should the Goddess of Indigolla proceed (along it) there will be good luck.

(She is) the Lady who spins the clouds (in order) to sit behind the thunders of the waterfalls,
The Lady who subdues the water (in order) to sit behind the thunders of the water.
The Lady whose hand is small for the bow-string of the sounding bow (?),
The Lady who walks behind the boat (shaped vessel) of blood.

To the great king on that side that great resting-place was given up, it is said;
To the great king on this side this great resting-place was given up, it is said;
To the kings on both sides the resting places on both sides were given up, it is said.
What (opportunity was there) still for sleep? The wealthy great kings were killed, it is said.

"*Oba* and *meba* are Sinhalese or Elu words for 'there' and 'here' according to Clough; but are never used colloquially by Sinhalese, whereas they are in common use by the Vaeddas, and I was told by them they meant 'on that side' and 'on this side,' *offa* (Sin. *ohaṭa*) and *meffa* (Sin. *mehaṭa*) being used for 'there' and 'here.'

"The penultimate *la* of the last line appears to be pleonastic.

"The translation of the third line of the second verse is doubtful. It may mean 'the little lady whose hand (guides) the bow-string of the sounding bow,' and this would agree with her title *Lamā*, but as she is not elsewhere referred to as being young or small I have not inserted this translation in the verse."

This invocation was written down for us by Tissahami the Vedda Arachi. It is therefore not surprising to find that it contains little that belongs to the Vedda stratum of thought. The invocation is headed *Indigollae Kiri Ammā dadayamaṭa*

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natana kavi "Song danced for hunting to Kiriamma of Indigollae." We did not have the opportunity of discussing the meaning of this invocation in the field, and indeed knew nothing of its contents until Mr. Parker translated it. With regard to the significance of this invocation Mr Parker writes: "Indigollae Kiriamma is here treated as the Huntress Goddess of the waters, who sends the rain which enables the hunters to track the deer. The boat of blood is referred to in an invocation of her husband, the Indigollaewa Yaka.

"Apparently two other Yakas endeavoured to take from her the two hills which she haunted, but in the end she killed the intruders and regained these resting-places[1]."

INVOCATIONS TO THE RAHU YAKU.

These are invocations to a Sinhalese demon who has been taken over by the Veddas and assumed Vedda attributes. The most striking alteration that the demon has undergone is that instead of the single Rahu Yaka of the Sinhalese the Veddas speak of three Rahu Yaku (Sitala Wanniya) or of male and female spirits Raku Yaka and Yakini (Bandaraduwa). The Sitala Wanniya story of the Vedda brothers who became the Rahu Yaku has been given in Chapter VII, but we do not know anything concerning the origin of the Yaka and Yakini who are completely foreign in character.

Sitala Wanniya.

XXXV. *Ran adukku aetuwa, ran kadu aetuwa, gas mada aetuwa, hudu hamba aetun bāra dunnā. Yām antarāwak wenda epā. Oppu gatin.*

Together with golden cooked food, with golden swords, with toddy (lit. tree spirit) we gave white samba rice. We do not want any danger to occur to us. Take the offering.

With Handuna's help a translation of this invocation was prepared which is practically identical with that provided by Mr Parker. Handuna explained that in this invocation *gas mada*, lit. "core of a tree," stood for "coconut."

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[1] "Her origin has not been mentioned in any of these invocations; the Sinhalese state that she is Mohini, the beautiful incarnation of Vishnu, and mother of Aiyanar, the great Forest God of Ceylon."

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XXXVI. *Nārusayi saeduna, bōrusayi saeduna. Gini Rāhu Bandāra ena velāwa kaḍu hāwuhamak saedi ge.*

The Nā tree is made, and the Bō tree is made. At the time when the chief, Gini Rāhu, comes, a fight with swords will be made.

The Veddas could neither explain the meaning of the words of this invocation, nor state the significance of the whole.

Unuwatura Bubula.

XXXVII. *Gini wahalak sādāla, raŋ kāla pandamak sadāla, raŋ ī iți sadāla, Gini Rāhu Baṇḍāra raŋ ī iți sadāla mē magul maḍuwața waḍinna raŋ mōlat balanna.*

As we have constructed a Fire Palace, as we have made a light (resting) on a golden support (?), as we have made with wax golden arrows, O Chief, Gini Rāhu, as we have made with wax golden arrows, be pleased to proceed to this festival shed and to look at the golden mortar also.

The Veddas of Unuwatura Bubula understood this invocation in a somewhat different sense.

Gini Rāhu Bandar come to this shelter, look upon the golden mortar. The shelter has a roof of fire, within it is a golden torch and golden bees'-wax.

INVOCATIONS SUNG AT THE KOLAMADUWA CEREMONY.

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We were told that the *kolamaduwa* ceremony was performed until recently with considerable pomp and circumstance by the Veddas of Bandaraduwa. Tissahami, the Vedda Arachi, gave us the following invocations as some of those that he learnt to sing when as a youth he lived among the Veddas. Tissahami wrote down these invocations after the partial rehearsal of the *kolamaduwa* ceremony which was arranged for our benefit at Henebedda, a description of which is given in Chapter IX.

When discussing the *kolamaduwa* we were told that Veddas were sometimes sent for by the peasant Sinhalese because of the superior protection afforded to the cattle fold by their invocations and dances. The tradition as to this practice was quite definite and we do not doubt that it occurred formerly, but we could hear of no recent instances in which Veddas alone officiated. 782 648

This did not surprise us for we met with no Veddas who knew these long invocations, and we believe that this practice must have ceased throughout the Vedirata at least two or three generations ago. The necessary conditions existed in those days when, as we were assured, there were communities of village Veddas with shaman of repute such as no longer exist, and we may instance the history of Lindegala given on pp. 171 and 172 as a case in point. Nevertheless the custom survives in a modified form, for Tissahami with three Veddas performed a *kolamaduwa* ceremony at Damenegama in 1903 with the object of stopping an epidemic, alleged to be dysentery, which was then raging in the neighbouring villages. 731 755

A very large number of spirits are invoked, but as has been indicated in Chapter IX Kande Yaka, Bilindi Yaka, and the *yaku* of the recent dead were not of the number. This demonstrates that the ceremony as it at present exists is essentially foreign, and therefore the length and nature of the three invocations given are not surprising. The invocation to Unapane Kiriamma which recites her deeds agrees well with all we could find out about her independently, and suggests that these invocations arose among such settled village Veddas as those mentioned in the Sinhalese chronicles referred to in the first chapter. 782

The four invocations written down by Tissahami were discussed at length with him, the shaman of the Henebedda Veddas sitting with us, though as this man—a half bred—knew only parts of these invocations and greatly admired Tissahami, the translations obtained in this way only represent the opinion of Tissahami, and presumably that of the Kovil Vanamai Veddas from whom he learnt them in his youth. In these circumstances it is not surprising that two of these translations differ considerably from those furnished by Mr Parker, and this difference is so great in the invocation (No. XXXIX) which should be sung while the leaves are being slashed from the *kolamaduwa* (cf. p. 269) that we have thought it best to give our field version as well as Mr Parker's translation. Some of the allusions, for instance, the reference to the shark contained in the first portion 782 539

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of No. XXXIX, were equally unintelligible to our field informants and to Mr Parker.

Invocation of Unapane Kiriamma at the Kolamaduwa Ceremony.

XXXVIII.

1. *Uḍu-næwara kōṭāgena*
Yaeṭi-næwara kōṭāgena
Sal ūyan sādāgena
Pol ūyan sādāgena

2. *Aeli aetā sādāgena*
Ru mīwā sādāgena
Uḍu wiyan sādāgena
Waṭa wiyan sādāgena

3. *Raṇ piyŏwili sādāgena*
Netti mālē sādāgena
Raṇ hara gal sādāgena
Moṭṭaekkili sādāgena.

4. *Siṭinō ātaraṭa*
Mūlāwak waeṭi siṭa
Miya gudin sat dawŏsaṭa
Raṇ diwas waeṭi siṭa.

5. *Sat Pāttini Deviyannem*
Teda wāran lābāgena
Moṭṭaekkili lābāgena
Kataragan wāhālen

6. *Kaḍa hāngal labāgena*
Teda wāraṇ ladāgena
Sidda Māngra Deviyannem
Kiri dāluwā lābāgena

7. *Valli nam Ammā gŏ*
Kalu ambara paṭṭiyeṭa
Hudu ambara paṭṭiyeṭa
Rū wāhun muṭṭāweṭa

8. *Deva diwas ēlāpū*
Unāpānē Kiri Ammā
Sat pēretu Kumārī
Uḍu wiyan Kumārī

9. *Waṭa wiyan Kumārī*
Moṭṭaekkili Kumārī
Raṇ piyŏwili Kumārī
Raṇ hara gal Kumārī
Vidāgama Kumārī !—

10. *Aeyi pāmā muna pāmāda*
Hun kirī sādāpumu
Kaḍa hängal sādāpumu?
Raṇ diwas elāpan
Raṇ naḍū kiyāpan.

1. Cutting Udu-nuwara (jungle),
Cutting Yati-nuwara (jungle),
Planting Sal gardens,
Planting Coconut gardens,

2. Training elephants (f.) and the tusk elephant,
Training the riding buffalo,
Making ceiling cloths,
Making side (wall) cloths,

3. Making golden coverings,
Making forehead ornaments,
Making golden necklaces (?),
Making head cloths,

4. While (you were) living;
Having fallen into adversity,
Seven days after (your) fatal sickness,
After (their) golden divine eyes had fallen (on you),

5. From the seven Pattini Goddesses
Receiving their gifts of power;
Receiving head coverings
From the Kataragam palace,

6. Receiving a pair of robes;
Receiving the gift of power,
From the deity the God Mangala
Receiving coconuts[1].

7. (Receiving from) the mother called Valli, cattle
For the black cattle (lit. horn-bearer) fold
(And) for the white cattle fold,
(And) beautiful chatties for cooking-pots;

8. (You) who cast down (on us your) divine eyes,
Kiri Ammā of Unāpāna,
The Princess foremost of seven (Kiri Ammas),
Princess of ceiling cloths,

9. Princess of wall cloths,
Princess of head coverings,
Princess of golden coverings,
Princess of golden necklaces,
Princess of Vidāgama!—

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[1] Cf. note [3] p. 277.

10. Why (are you) late, what is (the cause of) the delay
When we have made ready young coconuts,
When we have made ready a pair of robes?
Cast (on us your) golden divine eyes;
Declare (your) golden decision.

"*Moṭṭaakkili* is formed of two Tamil words, *moḍḍai* (pronounced *mottai*), a bald head, and *kili* a strip of cloth. The word does not occur in Winslow's dictionary.

"*Piyowili* is a verbal noun derived from *piyanawa* to cover or shut.

"*Kara gal* may here mean 'stones for the neck,' i.e. beads; the usual meaning is whet-stones.

"*Ambara*, horn-bearer, is a *kaelē bāsa* word which usually means buffalo.

"*Peretu* for *peratu*, foremost.

"*Sadapumu* is a peculiar form, the past participial adjective with the termination of the first person plural."

The first three verses enumerate the works that Unapane Kiriamma is traditionally supposed to have performed during her life on earth. The fourth and fifth verses indicate that she died after a prolonged illness and on the seventh day after her death received power, i.e. became a *yaka*. Verses four to seven mention her and the gifts presented to her by various superior gods who, as Mr Parker writes, are all Tamil deities, "by Pattini the Goddess of chastity and controller of epidemics, who has seven manifestations or forms; Skanda the god of the Kataragam temple; Mangala, who may be Ayiyanar; and Walliamma the wife of Skanda, who according to the traditions of Ceylon married her at Kataragama." Mr Parker suggests that in the third line of the eighth verse "The Princess foremost of Seven" refers to the position of Unapane Kiriamma as "the most important personage among the seven minor Kiriammas to whom worship is paid by the Southern Vaeddas. Four others among them are local princesses or chieftainesses, and two are the *sakti* or female manifestations of minor deities. In another district Miriyabaedda Kiriamma is considered to be the most important one of this group, and the Unapane Kiriamma is there held to occupy only the third place."

INVOCATION SUNG AT THE KOLAMADUWA CEREMONY.

XXXIX.

1. *Masāmasa mūda maedde masa mōrā hapāgena lē keliyaṭada mas*
keliyaṭada giyē ara Wālimba gala dun wēḍi panikkiyā.

2. *Nā kaḍuwen koṭa Bō kaḍuwen dinun dakinñayi.*
Bō kaḍuwen koṭā Bo kaḍuwen dinun danñayi
Dinun dakinñayi, ṭōpā yāluwā.

3. *Kadu hēwākan karaganō*
Hat hēwākan karanñada karanña(da)?
Hat hēwākan karaganō
Kadu hēwākan karañada karanñadae?

4. *Obama obama oba Horabara waewā nō;*
Mobama mobama moba Māwilingangā nō,
Anḍā diya duwana Māwilingangā nō,
Enawā kiyannan Nilmal gangā nō.

5. *Horabara waewē kānuwa piṭa innada?*
Aela welē wel eliyen eññada?
Daena walalu nada dīlā eññada?
Kāriya kiyannaṭa Nilmal eññada?

Pālu raṭayi, Wanniya, otanin bhaṭa;
Gōlu gena panini wael kinnō aengaṭa,
Reru aewit diya kelinā sonda ruwaṭa.
Yālu topit giyeda Sorabora waewaṭa?
Sorabora waewē egoḍat innan Vaeddō;
Sorabora waewē me goḍat innan Vaeddō;
Sorabora waewē de goḍama innan Vaeddō,
Apaṭat nelun mal awulanḍa deddō?

Sorabora waewē sonda sonda olu nelun aetī;
Ewuwā nelannaṭa sonda sonda liyō etī;
Kalu baralā hudu baralā nyā deti.
Olu sālē bat kannaṭa mālu naetī.

6. *Mī kalumal aella wicārē*
Atat damā yana murā gamanayi bālannē
Mī Kaḍagal gāla wicārē
Īsaṭa dāmā yānā is moṭṭaekkili bālannē
Mī Niyandawarā gala wicārē
Āṭaṭa payaṭa dāmā yanā gīgiri nānda aeṭarenē.
Kalumal Nangiṭa bāendapu pani mula kālen raṭa waeṭī gē.
Kalumal Nangiṭa baendapu amā mula kondan rāṭā waeṭī gē
Āngara naeṭun naṭama Wanniṭa konda konda bera ṭada gaecāpū.
Kori hat kori hat āpaṭa ēpā tibe paengiri kala bindāpū

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Kaha kirtillan tälāwē nälā pirati Hannachaelāgē närā gaman pinimu
Ātaṭa wäḍan päyaṭa wäḍan daela gigiri sälannē,
Nälā pirati Hannachaelā mulpōlaṭayi duwa ennē.
Mini kōbō tälāwē nälā pirati Hannachelā nuri gāman karannē.
Dāela dāmā dāela gigiri sālānnē.

1. Cutting the shark fish in the midst of the Masāmasa Sea, did that skilful elephant catcher to whom Wālimba-gala is given go for the sport with blood or for the sport with fish?

2. Having cut with the Nā sword I shall see victories (i.e. I shall be victorious) with the Bō sword.
Having cut with the Bō sword I shall gain victories with the Bō sword;
I shall see victories, You Friend.

3. (When) fighting with swords shall I fight shall I fight with (my) hands (also)?
(When) fighting with (my) hands shall I fight shall I fight with swords?

4. There, there, there is Horabora waewa;
Here, here, here is the Mahawaeli-ganga
The Mahawaeli-ganga in which the water laments as it flows.
"I am coming, Nilmal-ganga," I shall say.

5. (He longs to return to distant Horabora, and his thoughts now dwell on it.)
Shall I stop on the sluice of Horabora?
Shall I come from the open ground of the field on the channel?

Shall I come now, making my bangles resound?
Shall I come to Nilmal (ganga) to declare the matter? (i.e. to tell the truth about the district. He means that he need not go there to tell it).

It is a deserted district, Wanniyā, from end to end (lit. from there to there);
Bringing their pupils (young ones, with them) the small creeping ants spring on to my body.
Teal come (to the tank) and sport very beautifully in the water.
Friends, have you also been to Sorabora waewa?

There will be Vaeddas on this side of Sorabora waewa;
There will be Vaeddas on that side of Sorabora waewa;
There will be Vaeddas on even both sides of Sorabora waewa.
Will they permit us also to collect lotus flowers?

There will be very lovely white lotus in Sorabora waewa;
Very handsome women will have been sent to pluck them;

After preparing and cleaning and cooking them they will give them (to be eaten).
For eating (with) rice made from seeds of the white lotus there is no meat (the game having been driven away).

6. (When I examine) this Kalumal waterfall
It looks (as though) I am joining in a love (making) journey.
In the examination of this Kadagat-gala what is fixed on the head (? of the rock) looks like a head-cloth.
In the examination of this Niyandawarā-gala the sound of the jingling bangles placed on the hands and feet is heard.
From the end of the bundle of honey tied up for Kalumal Nangī it is falling (? on the ground).
From the mouth of the bundle of rice (?) tied up for Kalumal Nangī it is falling (? on the ground).
For the Wanniyā who dances the *angara* dances beat excellent tunes on the tom-toms.
We do not want lame women's pingo loads, or sham (or refuse) loads; tie up desirable betel leaves.
The reed pipes of Kaha Kirillantalawa (Orioles' plain) being in front, it seems to be the love (making) journey of Hannaehelā (hill).
Having garlands for the hands and garlands for the feet (she) shakes the jingling bangles of both hands.
The reed pipes being in front Hannaehelā comes running to the Chief place (summit)—(or, they come running to the chief place of Hannaehelā).

7. The reed pipes of Mini Kōbōtalāwa (turtle doves' plain) being in front, Hannaehelā makes (her) love journey;
Having placed them on both hands (she) shakes the jingling bangles of both hands.

"In this song the Masāmasa Sea is again mentioned; there is probably some legend regarding the shark that was killed in the olden time. In *Ancient Ceylon* I have given reasons for believing that the early Vaeddas were in part a race of fishers.

"The 'blood-game,' *lē keliya*, of the first section may have some connection with blood offerings to demons. The other expression, *mas keliya*, would commonly mean 'meat-game,' but as meat is termed *mālu* at the end of the fifth section it appears to mean here 'fish-game,' the sport of fishing.

"In the fourth section, the singer, living near the Mahawaeli-ganga, thinks he will hear the Nilmal-ganga, apparently a river near Horabora, calling him back to that district. The last words of the fifth section give the reason why the Vaeddas have left it,—the want of game. The expression *kalu karalā*, 'having made black,' must refer to some part of the process in preparing the lotus seeds.

"I do not understand the sixth section, in which I have adhered as closely as possible to what appears to be the literal meaning. It would be much more intelligible if pronouns had been inserted; there is only one, *apaṭa epā*, 'we do not want,' which explains nothing.

"Apparently the hill Hannachelā, with reeds growing in pools on the plains near it (from which the reed pipe, *nalāwa*, is made), reminds the singer of a girl decked with garlands, who is going to be married (or possibly only visiting her younger sister), preceded by men playing these pipes. As I understood it, she takes with her pingo loads of betel, honey and cooked rice, to present to her younger sister, the Kaluṃal waterfall.

"The meaning of *raṭā* in the second verse of this section is uncertain. The word *amā* may be *hambā* or *sambā*, a kind of rice. *Angara* is defined in Clough's Dictionary as 'anointing the body after bathing with perfumes made from sandal wood.'

"*Paengiri kola* is a *kaelībāsa* expression for betel. *Mini kobo* should be *mini kobeyiyō* (jewelled) turtle doves; some other pigeons are called *bōwā* in Sinhalese, an onomatopoietic word imitating their cooing.

"*Kori kat bori kat* is an expression I have not heard, and the meaning is doubtful."

On account of the great difference between Mr Parker's translation and the meaning of this invocation as it was explained in the field, we now give the translation we wrote down while discussing the matter with our informants. It does not pretend to do more than explain the significance which our informants attributed to the invocation, and at the time we noted it we realised that it was far from being a literal translation. Explanatory remarks are enclosed between square brackets.

(1) Did the Panikkia of mist covered Walimbagala go to the great sea to kill the great shark and bring his flesh and blood?

[The Panikkia is a spirit whose home is Walimbagala

(Friar's Hood). He is doubtless the Walimbagala Yaka of other groups of Veddas.]

(2) Friends I will cut with my sword of Na and Bo and I will be victorious. [The Panikkia speaks to a host of spirits known as the Maha Yakino.]

(3) Did he go to fight with the sword, or to charm with his tongue?

(4) Horaborawewa is far away, the Mahawelliganga the waters of which are blue, is far away. [It was explained that this verse referred to the Veddas of Horabora being far away.]

(5) Are you on the sluice of Horaborawewa? [The *yaku* of dead Veddas are thus addressed.]

They [the *yaku*] will be coming by the fields of Elavella [well-known rice fields].

Are you coming shaking your bangles in your hands?
Nilmal (Kiriamma) are you coming to favour us?
The country of the Wanniyas is abandoned in that direction.
Bears growl and roam (in the abandoned country).
Friend have you been to Horaborawewa where teal swim?
There are Veddas on the far side of Horaborawewa.
There are Veddas on this side of Horaborawewa.
There are Veddas on both sides of Horaborawewa.
Will they allow us to pick lotus flowers?
There are fine *olo* [a plant] and lotus in Horaborawewa.
Beautiful women come to pick them.

(They) cook and give white and black (seeds) [i.e. cleaned and uncleaned seeds].

(There is) no curry to eat the *olo* rice [i.e. the seeds].

(6) See how (they) go along Kalumalella [the stream below the sluice] swinging their hands;

See how (they) go along Kadagangala [a hill] with their heads covered.

Hear the jingling of bangles on the hands and feet of those going to Niyandawaragala [a hill].

The parcel of honey [tied up in leaves] for Nilmal Nangi is slanting.

The parcel of rice for Kalumal Nangi is erect.

Beat the tom-tom for the Wanniya to dance well.

Do not give small and torn betel leaves to us.

782 See how Pereti Hannachela going and coming from Kaha
539 Kirilian *talawa* jingling the bangles on her hands....

Pereti Hannachela is coming running to the Kolamaduwa.

(7) Pereti Hannachela of Minikobo *talawa* comes jingling bangles on her hands.

INVOCATION OF THE MAHA YAKINO CEREMONY.

XL. *Kolamaduwo bat mül ba(n)dina-kuta kiyana kaviya.*

Kayē raṭē raṭē gamē yanḍada mē ran āmā mul bädinnē badinnē. Kāya wat raṭē gamē yanḍa näwīyi. Tōpē raṭē gamē yanḍayi mē ran āmā mul badinnē badinnē. Muna muna wel gan kötäla dā mē ran āmā mul badinnē bädinnē. Kāyē raṭē gamē yanḍada mē nā kola wīyan badinnē badinnē. Tōpē raṭē gamē yanḍa mē nā kola wī bädin dinnē, bädinnē.

Song which is sung while tying up the bundles of rice for the *kolamaduwa*.

To go to a village in whose countries are (we) tying, are (we) tying these bundles of golden Ambrosia? Not to go to a village in the country of anyone (else) whatever, (but) to go to a village in thy country (we) are tying, (we) are tying these bundles of golden ambrosia. Having cut which fields are (we) tying, are (we) tying these bundles of golden ambrosia? To go to a village in whose country are (we) tying, are (we) tying these *nā* leaf canopies? To go to a village in thy country (we) are tying, (we) are tying these *Nā* leaf canopies.

Our field translation of this invocation substantially agrees with Mr Parker's, though as might be expected our informants gave "rice" in place of "Ambrosia."

INVOCATION OF AMBARAPOTI KIRIAMMA AT THE KOLAMADUWA CEREMONY.

XLI. *Gewara wil mänädi elawälā keli yudda*
Bambara mala pipa indagena hanyi wända wenama sadda
Ämbarāla puṭuma sunulun palandinawā lā sudda
Ambarapoti Ämmā mina me naduwaṭa kawaru adda
Monḍarinṭa hara nila tamba pota sīmayi
Bilindaga ätana ruwa yodunā
Baden hoson mal malilan sīmayi
Bella waṭaṭa gōmbara lūnā
Sagga puskola e ran toḍu gena
Nāsikäwa malalaṭa obinā

1;Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
AX5 Vedda AX5

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Kumala patul deka derana tabāgena
Waediyayi Ambarāpoti Ammā.
Salā didī raela matupiṭa petiyek perelena andan
Walā yaeṭin pāeyu sandā deviyō waeḍawena andan
Ran toraneka ramba toraneka deviyō aetapena andan
Ūva tedeti mal sāmī maḍuwaṭa saerasunā andan.

While the sambar deer trusted to the pool, being driven away it was attacked in the jungle.
The Bambarā bee sitting on the flower will make quite another cry (i.e. objects) about bathing.
It is very cleanly to put on frequent sandal-wood after grinding it (to powder).
Except Ambarāpoti Ammā who is there (to undertake) this business?
The sapphire of the peacock's neck (shines) like a plate of copper.
The throne of Bilindi is made beautifully.
From his body (hang) margosa flowers like a garland,
Round his neck are scattered freckles (light patches),
He has ear-rings of gold joined to talipat leaf,
His nose is worthy of his forehead.
The child placing his two feet on the earth
Is greater than Ambarāpoti Ammā.
As a *petiyā* (fish) is rolled over on the top of the eddying wave,
Like the moon risen from under the cloud, the *deviyā* advances.
Like an arch of gold, an arch of ramba grass, the *deviyā* reclines,
Like the Lord of Vaeddas, who has renown throughout Uva, adorned for the (wedding) hall.

The first four lines of our field version of this invocation agree tolerably well with Mr Parker's translation except that nothing is said about bathing, the second line running "The bees seated on the flowers make humming noises." The next eight lines were given to us as follows:

"The child should be like the colour of the peacock's neck.

"The body (of the child) should be like the flowers of the kohomba tree (margosa tree), like the flowers of the damba tree are the *gomera*[1] round the neck (of the child).

"The earrings made of talipot leaves look beautiful (when worn) in the face.

"Ambarāpoti Ammā came striding across the firmament."

Of the remaining four lines only the last is substantially different from Mr Parker's. It runs "See how the Malsami who has authority over Uva comes to the *maduwa*."

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[1] *Gomera* are light flecks on the skin which are much admired.

the inhabitants of Gongolla a primitive jungle village some 20 776
miles from the coast in the Eastern Province[1].

When the dance, of which we saw a partial rehearsal, is 535
about to take place the inside of the temple is decorated with 755
cloths and the green branches of trees including coconut leaves, and the model of the boat which commemorates the arrival of Kapalpei is hoisted to the top of the tall pole standing outside the temple. If the dance is undertaken in order to cure a sick man, milk is placed in the pot which is supported on the rough stand (fig. *Y*) mentioned above. The sick individual, and probably the dancers, are fed from this and at the end of the night's dance the last portion is thrown out into the jungle for Kapalpe.

The dancers should wear a petticoat made of strips of coco- [292]
nut leaves and green leafy twigs of other trees, and it was stated that the ministrant wore these just as did the other dancers. After the dance a number of these ceremonial garments are preserved in the temple where they are allowed to dry. Rice [782]
plantain and chewing material are piled on the *kudaram* during the ceremony and camphor is burnt. Kapalpe sees the food provided and the honour done him and is propitiated.

The stone *pilliyar* has been frankly adopted from the Tamils 177
though Mr Kumarakulasinghe pointed out that no sacred Tamil 778
stone was so rough[2]; further, according to the same informant Tamils do not dance round either *pilliyar* or *kudaram*.

At Kalkudah it was said that there was a special "priest" or 793
ministrant whom we did not see. We gathered that in some way he officiated in connection with the land cultivated by the community and he perhaps corresponded to the Sinhalese *gamarale*.

Some idea of the actual character of the ceremony and of the 535
nature of the *kudaram* and pole can be derived from the dance 796
rehearsed for our benefit at Vakarai. Plate LXX, fig. 1

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[1] Cf. Brenda Z. Seligmann, "A Devil Ceremony of the Peasant Sinhalese," *Journ. Roy. Anthrop. Inst.* Vol. XXXIX, 1909.

[2] This may be true of the Tamils of the east coast, but we have seen some shrines containing equally rough stones set up by Tamil coolies on plantations. Worship may be performed at such shrines, offerings of rice and chewing materials being made at them and afterwards eaten.

2:Bailey G-5 (ca. 1854) 1863
AX5 Vedda AX5

wildest Veddahs are without an "instinct of worship." They believe 776 that the air is peopled by spirits, that every rock and every tree, every forest and every hill, in short every feature of nature, has its *genius loci*; but these seem little else than mere nameless phantoms, whom they regard rather with mysterious awe than actual dread.

Such appears to be the form which the superstitions of every 776 savage tribe naturally assume,—the necessity for a belief in something 775 more than human, imparting to the commonest objects a 769 supernatural character. But besides this vague spirit-worship, they have a more definite superstition, in which there is more of system. This is the belief in the guardianship of the spirits of the dead. Every near relative becomes a spirit after death, who watches over the welfare of those who are left behind. These, which include their ancestors and their children, they term their "néhya yakoon," kindred spirits. They describe them as "ever watchful, coming to them in sickness, visiting them in dreams, giving them flesh when hunting." In short in every calamity, in every want they call on them for aid; and it is curious that the shades of their departed children, "bilindoo yakkoon," or infant spirits, as they call them, are those which they appear most frequently to invoke.*

It is a pretty belief, and contrasts favourably with the superstitions 769 of the Kandyans, who have spirits enough in their system, 776 but almost all thoroughly malignant, and needing constant propitiation. 782● But the Veddah spirit-world is singularly free from evil. I can find only one *absolutely* malignant spirit in it whom they really fear;† though, like all savages, they have an undefined awe of the nameless spirits whom they believe to haunt the darkness. The shades of their ancestors and of their children seem to be purely benevolent. The ceremonies with which they invoke them are few as they are simple. The most common is the following. An arrow is fixed upright in the ground, and the Veddah dances slowly round it, chanting this invocation, which is almost musical in its rhythm. [539]

"Mâ miya, mâ miy, mâ deyâ'
Topang koyilhetti mittigan yandâ'h!"

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* They also speak of them as "witera yakkoon," "child-spirits." They seem to prefer their great-grandmother (maha kiri amma) to the rest of their defunct ancestors; but I cannot ascertain any cause for their preference for the old lady. I may, however, be wrong in describing it as a preference. [753] It may be the reverse, for she is invoked chiefly in cases of sickness, when the patient is supposed to be suffering from the malignity of a spirit.

† Awāramada Yakko, who especially injures women, lying wait for them in the forest.

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[539]

"My departed one, my departed one, my God!
Where art thou wandering!"*

The spirit of the dead is here simply called upon, without even the object for which it is invoked being mentioned. And this invocation appears to be used on all occasions when the intervention of the guardian spirits is required, in sickness, preparatory to hunting, etc.†

[224] Sometimes, in the latter case, a portion of the flesh of the game is promised as a votive offering, in the event of the chase being successful; and they believe that the spirits will appear to them in dreams and tell them where to hunt.

Sometimes they cook food and place it in the dry bed of a river, or some other secluded spot, and then call on their deceased ancestors by name. "Come, and partake of this! Give us maintenance as you did when living! Come, wheresoever you may be; on a tree, on a rock, in the forest, come!" And they dance round the food, half chanting, half shouting, the invocation.‡

776 782 They have no knowledge of a Supreme Being. "Is he on a rock? On a white ant-hill? On a tree? I never saw a God!" was the only reply I received to repeated questions.§ They have

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* I find in my notes another version of this invocation, which slightly alters the first words. It runs thus: "Ma mini, ma mini!—my gem, my gem;" but "miya," which signifies "dead," is the most common.]The word in the invocation translated "God" is evidently a corruption of the Sanskrit deva, a god or divinity. EDIT.]

† And they are invoked without any ceremony at all—by a mere mental ejaculation. I once saw a Veddah make a bad shot, and he threw down his bow with a gesture of impatience, saying—"That was because I did not call on my Billindoo Yakkoon." And before making his next shot, he muttered an invocation.

‡ A superstition similar somewhat to this is prevalent among the neighbouring Singhalese. If a man die who has lived a good life, his relatives give alms to the poor, calling on the dead by name to look down on them, and enable them to follow his good example. If he has lived an evil life, alms are also given; but these are propitiatory offerings for his sins, and to avert his evil influence from his survivors. For, in this case, he has become an evil spirit, apt to injure his own family and their cattle unless civilly treated. The degree of malignity depends on the degree of evil in the life led by deceased. If he dies with a hankering after worldly things, he haunts the house in which he lived in a variety of forms—perhaps most commonly that of a toad or a cobra, probably because these frequent houses. It is also, in some parts, a common belief that if a man die, and shortly after one of the family fall sick, and is not cured by the usual medicines and ceremonies, the sickness is attributed to the spirit of the dead, who must be propitiated by a mess of rice, left in the house for him. This, generally, is supposed to effect a cure.

§ It is curious that in one of their invocations, "mâ Deyâ", my God! [782] occurs, see before; and that of thunder they say, "a spirit, or a god has cried out".

no idols, offer no sacrifices, and pour no libations. They cannot 782
be said to have any temples, for the few sticks sometimes erected, 776
with a branch thrown over them, are, I imagine, simply to protect [346]
their votive offerings.

They have no system of medicine, though they will accept medicine 755
when given. In cases of sickness they sprinkle water on the 769
patient, invoking their deceased ancestors to heal him. Sometimes they simply utter the name of spirits as they dance round the sick man. Sometimes a garland of flowers is offered to the spirit who has afflicted him.[*] They believe in the efficacy of what are called devil dances, but are ignorant of the art of a
Kattadia, or devil dancer. I can find no trace of metempsychosis, [775]
so universal amongst Buddhists.

I have now described what is the *actual* religious belief, if it 771
can be so called, of the Veddahs; and it was only by dint of often 174
repeated visits among them, and very careful inquiry, that I succeeded in obtaining the particulars I have recorded.

But, that at some period of their history they had some knowledge of a more "systematized" faith, their charms and invocations, some of their customs, and the very names they bear, seem conclusively to prove.

Such testimony is invaluable. For neither the inquirer, whose zeal may induce him to jump too hastily at conclusions, nor the people themselves, can distort it, or give it a strained interpretation. But this evidence all points to something long past, to a faith once, at least, familiar to them, but now forgotten. At the least, it indicates a former contact with civilization, and proves that they have a history more full of incident than would belong to a race which was always as barbarous as it is now.[†]

In their charms the sun and moon are frequently invoked, [821]
although in their daily life neither luminary is respected.[‡]

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[*] They invoke the Gal-Yakko, spirit of the rock; Wedde-Yakko, spirit of the chase; Oonapāna-Yakko, of whom I have no knowledge; and the shade of their great-grandmother. They also propitiate "Maha-Yakkhini", who appears rather an evil personage. It is to her that they offer a garland of flowers. They describe her as a "foreigner", and say that they know nothing about her, but acquired their awe of her from the Singhalese. The Weddi-Yakko is known to the Singhalese; hunters offer flowers, blood, and burnt meat to this spirit, before hunting, to secure their success: Oonapāna-Yakko is known to the Singhalese of the Weddirates, but I do not think he is generally known to the Singhalese.

[†] Vide Tennent's account of the Veddahs, especially vol. ii, part iii, chap. ix, p. 441-2. "They have no knowledge of a God, nor of a future state, no temples, no altars, prayers, or charms; in short, no 'instinct of worship' except, it is reported, some ceremonies analogous to devil worship."

[‡] This occurs in several charms. The following (which, though not 789
known to the Singhalese, as applied to *wild boars*, is identical with one known to them to drive away toothache), not only invokes the sun and moon,

165 the other hand, the mortality would be very considerable among the offspring. This mortality, when infantile, would generally be among the first born and last born, owing to maternal immaturity in the first case and constitutional depletion in the last.

842 593 On the question of sex I found that the prevalent idea was that if a wife was not thoroughly obedient to her husband she would invariably give birth to females, and it was only complete subjection to the husband's will that could secure a preponderance of males.

I could get no information on the subject of barrenness or sterility.

776 782 As regards the religion of the Veddas previous to their modernization, it appears that they believed in certain "Yakko," who exercised certain influences for good or evil. There was no conception of a Supreme Creator. On the other hand, the "Yakko" possessed, in common with humanity, a tendency to favour; so that it was always possible to secure its influence in return for special molifying ceremonies. Thus, by certain incantations, ceremonial offerings, or honorific declarations, the Yakko who exercised specific powers could be induced to subtend influence to the advantage of the individual then desiring it. Thus, the Yakka who guarded the deer might be induced to direct the deer to come within the reach of the Vedda's bow and arrows. On the other hand, another Yakka might be propitiated so as to render the hunter invisible to the leopard, so that the hunter would escape harm.

789 224 Special incantations were supposed to render an individual successful in the chase, so that his aim would be deadly, or that more game would come his way.

753 843 Again, disease or sickness was the direct outcome of certain malign Yakko, who could be propitiated, and this was specially to be considered when a woman was pregnant, so that the evil might be diverted from the unborn child.

241 I was not able to discover from my informant if the Veddas in their primitive times had any definite form of agriculture. It is certain that they were acquainted with rice, but I could not ascertain how it was procured.

133 timber. Such places are the favourite resort of sambur, of which on this morning we saw no less than six. From great tree-heights came the whirring of strong wings as gibbous-beaked hornbills took alarm. We were perhaps a half-mile from the falls when we first heard them like a pervasive hum of swarming bees. Soon we lost the noise; and turning to our guide for an explanation, learnt, inconsequently enough, that "the water does not cry after the morning; it cries loudest when the cock crows at dawn!" The sound swelled suddenly again as there opened before us, not the turbulent cascade we expected, but placid murmuring rapids that swirled in a wide sheet around and over a thousand sunnied boulders. Such were the falls as we saw them; but on occasion they could be a roaring power leaping over the granite to a wild cataract melody, surging widely to the outskirts of Yakkure itself, and bestrewing the jungle with great wrack that even now lay stranded high on forked tree-trunks. What wonder the place is held in awe and that men have a care how they journey to it, lest they be lost on the way or fall a prey to beast or demon.

172 A smooth rock on the bank bore the frettings of ancient craft; the 778 tutelary god's *devale* (temple) it was said to be. Here we were irreverently seated, while our guides sat apart whispering at the profanation. The surface of the rock was socketed presumably to hold strong stanchions which in the old days supported a bridge across the water; while small 782 oval pools, reputed to contain a mint of wealth from the accumulation of years of propitiatory and votive offerings, showed to our pagan vision nothing more than a few potato-like pebbles and sportive water beetles.

A few months before our visit, Yakkure was the setting of a gallant 000 episode :—On the bund of the Polonnaruwa tank stands a shanty for forest-officers on circuit. Here one evening a wiry man of forty-five was amusing himself with his rifle. Placing a rupee against a tree fifty yards away he fired, holing it in the centre. He next made his targets a variety of live things that flecked the smooth surface of the tank, such as a cormorant or the barely visible head of a submerged crocodile. Every time his aim was true. The shots attracted a friend. "Testing your nerves as usual before an adventure?" he asked, walking up. "What is it this time? The Yakkure rogue* I'll bet."

"Yes, to-morrow I hope to get him," was the confident response. "You haven't seen *this* before, have you?" said the hunter handling his new rifle.

"You know best," said his friend; "but I should have brought a tried weapon if I were you, especially against such a beast as the Yakkure rogue is said to be. Only yesterday he smashed a boy to pulp. The villagers are too scared to leave their homes."

"This gun is all right. I've tested it. See," said he, indicating his hits, "I've been warned time and again against the use of light arms for elephants, but they have never failed me so far. Once, though," he continued thoughtfully "I had a near shave......... You know, I sometimes wonder whether the villagers appreciate what I do for them."

"They look on you as their greatest benefactor," replied his friend.

"It is good to know that," said the hunter. "For the last fifteen years, whenever I heard of a rogue in my province, I've gone after him; often at great trouble and expense."

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*A dangerous elephant ostracised by the herd, and a menace to human life and property.

cries he had rushed in vain to the rescue. It speaks much for the 115
dominance of man over animals that this puny fellow, armed only with [412]
a small hatchet, could live with impunity in such surroundings; and
moreover leave his wife and children unprotected in their fragile leaf-hut [342]
while he was out in quest of food.

"Cha," I heard Sinna ruminating sorrowfully to himself, "the goa- [231]
catching dog is gone."

"Have you no other?" I asked.

"The one that's left isn't much good," he said. "With the bitch I [224]
lost I could catch six *goyas** a day."

The way to the caves was up the heavily-wooded, boulder-encumbered 13
side of the hill, plentiful with caves of bear, porcupine and wild cat. On the sandy floor of one dark den were the footprints of a bear and her cubs that had just vacated it. Sinna was well ahead of us, as we clambered on trembling knees regardless of all else but where to gain foot-hold, when a timorous one called out to the Vedda from below, "There now, if a bear should come, don't you run away and climb a tree."

The little chap wagged his head acquiescingly. I asked him what he would do in such an event.

"We will also strike; he will also bite," was the cool reply.

Gaining a spur, at length we attained the first of the series of caves known as the Maraweethiya. A strong aroma of bats greeted us. Ant-
hills grew out of the dusty floor of the cave, the plastered dome of which [172]
was ornamented with frescoes of Buddhas and *devas*. A decayed wooden image stood behind a flat altar stone supported on bricks, many of which lay fallen about. A broken wall partially shut in the cave, and another divided it off from a deep pool of crystalline water.

From here a passage protected by a low wall led through a narrow gulley flanked by small trees; thence by way of spurs, tunnels and deep grottoes we came to a shallow cave in full face of the sky, where we were the cause of much concern to a pair of peregrine falcons. They hovered above us crying perturbedly; now they would swoop boldly down almost within reach of our hands; now wing away with harsh cackling cries of alarm, as they discovered us handling their eggs, that lay amidst the debris of brick and tile.

Ahead was a fearsome pass, which we must negotiate to reach the last of the caves. It was no more than a shallow, sloping notch in the sheer
side of the rock, overlooking a drop of about three hundred feet, and with [778
seemingly nothing beyond it but eternity. On hands and knees we
crawled through and were mightily relieved to find ourselves in the 782]
security of a large grotto. Here, before two patched stone images, we found a few of our carriers devoutly kneeling; on an altar-stone were their meagre oblations of ixora blooms they had gathered on the way. The virtue, it would seem, lay less in the quality of the offerings than in the attainment of this inhospitable shrine with its weathered and lonely gods.

We could go no farther; but hence along the crazy edge of the hill was the merest semblance of a break-neck way that led, we were told, to the ancient kingdom of the *rakshayas* (demons) with its foot-wide

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*Monitor lizard

535 to all the spirits combined. Suddenly he stooped, twirled the chatty on the ground, and shouting " hooy ", fell swooning into the arms of one
796 who had for some time been waiting to catch him. The dance was over. He was artist enough to impart something of his wild fervour to his spectators.

224 The next day at the appointed hour we set out, the Veddas buoyed up with the certainty of success. We had not gone far when Kaurala, who was leading, suddenly levelled his gun (or rather mine) and fired. A fine buck bounded away.

"Cha", he said, examining the spot where the animal had stood; "now why did that animal not fall? So close too. That was the *kirikoraha* deer right enough; did you not see the horns?" When he discovered that he had fired the barrel containing small shot and not the bullet, he fell to cursing my gun.

782 Should an animal be killed after a *kirikoraha* ceremony an offering of boiled rice, with flesh from the head and chest, is made to the propitious
224 spirits. Of this offering the hunters may themselves partake with a view to continuance of success.

Lastly, there is the *hangotuwa* (deer-skin receptacle for the honey), 222
or *yakka-katta* (devil's mouth) as it is reverently called out of deference 415
to the tutelary demons of the rock, who might otherwise be angered 776
and send the cutter to his doom.

A pile of firewood is now collected on top of the rock to protect the 222
guardians of the ladder, while another heap is made by those below.
All being ready they await the protecting darkness. When this comes
the play begins. The great fire at the foot of the rock is lit and fed [372]
abundantly with green leaves; large volumes of smoke lick uncannily
up the side of the hill towards the hives; now there is a stir among the
bees. As the Veddas hear it their merriment waxes great: "*Bambaru, bambaru, bambaru*; *thapita, thapita, thapita. Ho bambaru thuapa**;" they cry. "*Giddi, giddi, giddi*; *rung, rung, rung*," they jeer in imitation of the flight.

Meanwhile the fire above has been lighted, and two smoking *hulas* have been lowered towards the hives. The air is heavy with the ominous hum of angry bees.

Now is the time for the descent. The ladder, firmly secured to a tree [587
or stone, and guarded by the brother-in-law of the cutter (the only person
ineligible to marry his wife in the event of accident), is let down with a 607]
propitiatory incantation† to the demons of the rock and ancestral spirits. [782
This being uttered, the hand grip is said to be strong and the feet to cling
like jak milk to the stone.

With smoking *hulas* looped to forearms and *matha* slung on shoulder, and hair dishevelled over his face that the bees may not get at his eyes and nose, the cutter, gripping the cane with a single hand, disappears over the edge of the cliff into the darkness and the smoke. The ladder creaks as he feels his way down, for he sees nothing.

He has reached the level of the hives. At a signal the deer-skin
receptacle is lowered to him, and this he secures to the ladder. Thrusting
a leg between two rungs so that his foot is on the lower and his bent
knee against the upper, and his head between two others so that the back
of his neck is braced against a rung, he is free to use his hands. First
he smokes the hives with the *hulas* mounted on the *matha* and drives
away the lingering bees. Then, slinging the *hulas* on his forearms, he [412]
takes up the stake and, with its pointed end, cuts horizontally through
the lower part of the comb, separating off the useless *yotha* with its contained grubs which the bees stoutly defend. He next cuts the comb in vertical sections, and, loosening each from its attachment, spits it with the pronged end of the stake, removes it, and shakes it into the receptacle at his knee. Thus he deals with all the hives.

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*"The bees, the bees, the bees; pile the fire, pile the fire, pile the fire. Ho! the bees run."

†*Yothinawa* it is called; and thus it goes:—

Haiboa, haiboa, haiboa.
Ma ninthegang katuakee maritchee,
Alut upang navanthangi maihi helaney,
Maihi aral ejuhora thennam kithen,
Hamathayan santhosa ejuaragana karumakagena.
The badey yanna, the badey yanna, the badey yanna.

783

783 **PURIFICATION AND EXPIATION**--practices reflecting a sense of contamination or guilt; concept of ritual uncleanness; things and persons considered unclean or impure; purification rites (e.g., ritual ablutions and bathing); concepts of sin, salvation, and redemption; riddance of sin (e.g., confession, remission, atonement, penance, scapegoat); etc. See also:

Elimination	514	Ideas about corpses	764
Personal hygiene	515	Ideas about sexual intercourse	833
Ideas about unclean castes	564	Ideas about menstrual blood	841
Definitions of acts regarded as sinful	673	Ideas about the exuviae of childbirth	844
Punishment of ritual offenses	688		
Conception of pollution, contagion, and loathsome diseases	753		

points were left doubtful. The extent of their neighbours'
101 influence upon this community may be gauged to a certain
177 degree by the following fact. When visiting the shaman we
asked him to show us his *aude* and other sacred objects (as
will be seen later, certain beads are held sacred in this com-
munity), he replied that he did not keep them at his own hut
562 because of the noxious influence due to the presence of the
783 women[1], but that the Sinhalese *gamarale*[2] took charge of them
for him. We then went together to the house of the *gamarale*;
this consisted of a hut divided by a partition at the back, one
room being the sleeping room and the other the granary, and a
large open barn in front, with its roof continuous with that of the
hut. In the part of the barn nearest the rooms, the women of
the household were cooking and pounding rice, while the back
was railed off to form a byre in which a number of calves were
tethered and into which the cows were driven at night. When it
was pointed out that there were also women living in this house
the shaman explained that their influence was counter-balanced
by the presence of the cows. Physically some of the Unuwatura
144 Bubula Veddas must be regarded as tolerably pure-blooded,
since they included some of the shortest men we met. One man
141 measured only about 1360 millimetres (53½ inches), but probably
he is to be regarded as almost a dwarf.

VILLAGE VEDDAS.

184 The village Veddas form a class which it is most difficult to
describe briefly, yet fairly. The term must not be taken to
361 apply to degenerate Veddas who have lost their jungle characteristics and independent habits under Sinhalese encroachment. Doubtless many such folk do live as Sinhalese in chena settlements for a short time before their extinction in the surrounding mass of peasant Sinhalese. But this is not the sense in which the Sinhalese apply the term Gan Veddo (village Veddas), nor is it the sense in which we use the term. Knox speaks of "wild"

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[1] We afterwards ascertained that *kile* was the name for the ceremonial uncleanliness of women.

[2] The *gamarale* of a Sinhalese village is the headman, who is responsible for the cultivation of the village lands and generally directs the agricultural affairs of the community.

slipping. Such ceremonial arrows are generally heirlooms, not necessarily passing from father to son but rather being handed down in apostolic succession from shaman to shaman, and among the village Veddas of Bintenne I have handled one such blade with a history running back for five generations. 411 778 [523 428]

Figure 8 shows two ceremonial arrows which we were able to collect. Besides these we saw similar *aude* at Omuni and were told at Sitala Wanniya that Handuna had formerly possessed one. Rutimeyer has figured one of these ceremonial arrows about 14 inches long, obtained from Kaira the "senior" of the Danigala Veddas. These arrows are carefully preserved by the shaman, and just as he himself observes certain dietetic rules, avoiding eating pig and fowl which are supposed to be particularly repulsive to the *yaku*, so among those more sophisticated communities who believe in the periodical uncleanliness of women, special precautions are taken to avoid the possible contamination of the *aude*[1]. This is generally done by keeping them in some comparatively remote spot such as a cave or in the roof thatch. It is necessary that the shaman should hold one of these arrows in his hand when invoking Kande Yaka; he should also have one for Bilindi Yaka, though as a matter of practice Kande Yaka and Bilindi Yaka were often invoked using the same *aude*, another *aude* being reserved for invoking the *Nae Yaku*. Both arrows were, however, commonly held in the hands during the whole of the *Nae Yaku* ceremony, but in spite of this no confusion seemed to arise nor had the onlookers the least difficulty in saying which *aude* belonged to Kande Yaka whenever they were asked. [783]

The offering of rice in the pot would be stirred with the *aude*, and betel leaves might be ceremonially transfixed with it. Among the Veddas of Unuwatura Bubula the testing of the quality of the food provided for the *yaku* was performed with the help of the *aude*, the shaman possessed by Kande Yaka using the *aude* to remove from the pot a few grains of rice which the *yaka* in the person of the shaman several times examined before expressing his approval of the offering provided. 411 778 782

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[1] The belief in the periodical uncleanliness of women has been borrowed from the Sinhalese. It did not exist in the "wildest" group we met with, on the other hand we found it among all the more sophisticated Veddas, attaining a maximum where these had come under foreign influence.

he onlookers, who were all willing assistants, he filled the palms 796
f his hands with milk and bounded forward, and raising his 787
ands with every step he scattered the milk, and in this manner
he *yaka* within him showed his pleasure. Next he took the
irikoraha from the tripod with both hands (Plate XXXIV,
ig. 1), spun it on the ground, and immediately it left his
ands he fell back. The spinning was prophetic, for in that
irection towards which the bowl dipped as it came to rest, there
ame would be found; and on this occasion it dipped to the
orth. When the shaman revived a few seconds later, Kande
Yaka had left him, and he was possessed by Bilindi Yaka again.
With shouts, gasping and trembling, he came to most of the
onlookers and promised good hunting in the usual manner, then
he took the *kirikoraha* and spun it, but when it left his hands the
pirit departed from the shaman and he fell back.

The dance was now over, and all were eager to partake of 796
he coconut milk which had been offered to the *yaku*, for none of 562
t might be wasted. All the men took a little, and also fed the 783
hildren with it, but the women were not allowed to partake of
t. However, as the mere contact of the milk had virtue the
haman rubbed some on their heads. In other less sophisticated
ommunities women were not looked upon as unclean, and they
hared in this and other food offered to the *yaku*. As has
lready been stated there is little doubt that the idea of [177]
women being unclean has been borrowed from the Sinhalese,
mong whom it is very strongly held. A little of the contents
f the *kirikoraha* might also be rubbed on the heads of the dogs
which were supposed to be more likely to hunt successfully
fter this.

The Kirikoraha at Sitala Wanniya. Kande Yaka, 796
Bilindi Yaka and Indigollae Yaka were all invoked at the
irikoraha held at Sitala Wanniya. Indigollae was held to
e the principal attendant of Kande Yaka, and though the
nvocation sung to him refers to "seven pots of blood" our
nformants were unable to give us any meaning for this[1].

Handuna, the shaman of the Sitala Wanniya community, did

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[1] This matter is briefly discussed in Chapter X after the invocation (No. XXXII) to
ndigollae Yaka.

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786 **ORGIES**--practices reflecting hysterical tendencies or release from normal inhibitions; frenzied singing and dancing; ceremonial license (e.g., phallic rites, temporary lifting of sex restraints, ceremonial intoxication); bacchanalian revels; religious prostitution; induced hysteria, hallucination, and swoon; religious revivalism; etc. See also:

Sex taboos	83	Temple prostitutes	793
Drunkenness	273	Conception of abnormal mental states . . .	828

CHAPTER IX

CEREMONIAL DANCES

WITH a single possible exception the dances of the Veddas are ceremonial and are performed with the object of becoming possessed by a *yaka* in the manner that has already been stated in Chapter VI where the subjective phenomena of possession are discussed. The majority of the ceremonial dances described in this chapter are pantomimic, and so well illustrate the objective manifestations of the condition of possession that little need be said on this subject, though it may be well to repeat our conviction that there is no considerable element of pretence in the performance of the shaman. The sudden collapse which accompanies the performance of some given act of the pantomime, usually an important event towards which the action has been leading up, is the feature that is most difficult to explain. According to the Veddas themselves it occurs when a *yaka* suddenly leaves the individual possessed, but it does not invariably accompany the cessation of possession, and it may equally occur when the individual becomes possessed, as at the Bandaraduwa *Nae Yaku* ceremony described on pages 233 to 237, where the first sign of possession shown by the brothers of the dead man was their collapse into the arms of their supporters. This can be explained as the result of expectancy, they expected to be overcome by the spirit of the deceased, and in fact this happened. In this connection we may refer to a Sinhalese "devil ceremony" which we witnessed in the remote jungle village of Gonagolla in the Eastern Province. One of us has described this ceremony elsewhere[1], but we would here

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[1] Brenda Z. Seligmann, "A Devil Ceremony of the Peasant Sinhalese," *Journal Roy. Anthrop. Inst.* Vol. XXXVIII, 1908.

S. V. 14

[p.209]

535 786 specially refer to the condition of the *katandirale* or "devil dancer" when dealing with the dangerous demon Riri Yaka. Although he took special precautions to prevent the demon entering him, that is to say to avoid possession by the demon, he almost collapsed, requiring to be supported in the arms of an assistant as under the assaults of the *yaka* he tottered with drawn features and half open quivering lips and almost closed eyes. Yet avowedly he was not possessed by the demon, but on the contrary was successful in warding off possession. His whole appearance was that of a person suffering from some amount of shock and in a condition of partial collapse, while the rapidity with which he passed into deep sleep immediately Riri Yaka, and his almost equally dreaded consort Riri Yakini, had left him, also favour the genuine character of his sufferings, concerning which he said that although he had never completely lost consciousness he had been near doing so and had felt giddy and nauseated[1]. Here we have a condition only a degree short of possession, occurring in an individual who not only hoped and expected to avoid being possessed by the spirit whom he invoked to come to the offering, but took elaborate precautions to prevent it. Had he become possessed it would have been a disaster which would have led to his illness and perhaps death, and would certainly have frustrated the object of the ceremony. Here there can have been no desire to lose consciousness, yet as the result of anticipation of the attack of the *yaka* the *katandirale* came near collapse.

This in our opinion throws a flood of light on Vedda possession and the collapse which may take place at its beginning, but it does not directly explain the collapse often experienced when a *yaka* leaves a person. But here we may seek assistance in the idea of analogy; when a spirit leaves the body, collapse and unconsciousness, permanent (death) or temporary (swoon, fainting fits or sleep), ensue. When the *yaka* leaves the body which for the time it has entirely

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[1] During the condition of partial collapse the dancer's face was covered with swe and so felt clammy, but this may only have been the result of his previous exertions his pulse was small and rapid and was certainly over 120 though the conditio prevented it being accurately counted.

dominated, what more natural than that collapse should occur 535
or be feigned by the less honest or susceptible practitioners? 786
There is no doubt that the Vedda ceremonies make considerable demand on the bodily powers of the dancers, but this is not so great as in the case of the Sinhalese devil ceremony of Gonagolla, since the Vedda ceremonies are of shorter duration—none we saw lasted over two hours and the majority certainly did not take so long. In spite of this we noted, after more than one ceremony, that the shaman was genuinely tired, and this was the case at Sitala Wanniya, where Kaira appeared actually exhausted at the end of the Pata Yaka ceremony.

We may now refer to the steps of the Vedda dance. The 535
Drs Sarasin have described the steps of the arrow dance of the Henebedda Veddas in an elaborate and rather formal manner. We shall shortly quote their description of this dance and meanwhile content ourselves with summarising the movements of the Vedda dances. Essentially, these appear to consist of steps taken alternately with each foot, each step being followed by a couple of pats on the ground delivered with the ball of the foot that is in advance, and after each such movement with right or left foot a half turn is made. The rhythm of the dance is kept by swaying the body gently from the waist, the hands (when not beating the body or holding an object) being allowed to swing freely; with each half turn forward the body is inclined forward and the head bent so that the hair falls over the face, and with each half turn backwards the head is thrown backwards. The dance always begins slowly and gently, the back foot still touching the ground while that foot with which the step has been made performs the double pat, so that just at first it is little more than a shuffle, soon, however, the feet are raised more and more and longer paces are taken, the back foot no longer remains on the ground while the double pat is made and the swaying and bending of the body is greatly increased.

When the *yaka* enters the person of a shaman it is customary 535
for him to inspect the offerings, and if he is pleased—which is 787
almost invariably the case—he will show his pleasure. This is usually done by bending the head low over the offering, then

arms straight above their heads, and then stretching over the 796
wilkoraha exchanged *kaduwa*. They danced a few steps 535
and exchanged *kaduwa* again, and yet once more before they bent their heads low over the *wilkoraha*, by which action the *yaku* inspected the coconut milk and pronounced it very good. The exchange of swords was merely in imitation of the Rahu brothers who were said to have done this in their lifetime.

After approving of the offering of milk Handuna and Kaira, 796
both followed by their supporters, danced to Nila, and Handuna 535
placed his sword on the latter's chest while swaying his body
and moving from one foot to the other, prophesying that Nila 786
would have good luck in hunting and would take many combs (Plate XLVIII, fig. 2). Nila answered; Handuna and Kaira still gasping and trembling said that the *yaku* possessing them must go now, and that their brother the Fire Chief would come. There was more wild dancing round the *wilkoraha*, and both men were so overcome that had their supporters not held them in their arms they must have fallen. We could not determine the exact time of the departure of the two elder Rahu Yaku and the advent of the younger brother[1]. Handuna and Kaira bent their heads simultaneously over the *wilkoraha*, inspected the milk, were satisfied and continued to dance, and while a bundle of grass was brought and set on fire they raised both arms, and after holding hands over the *wilkoraha* they rushed to the burning grass and danced on the fire till they put it out, then again holding hands they danced and bent their heads over the *wilkoraha*. More grass was set alight, and after repeating their dance on it both fell back into their supporters' arms. In a few seconds they sprang forward and danced up to Nila: Handuna spoke in the gasping *yaka* voice and covered the swords with a cloth. More grass having been set alight the dance continued as before, first round the pot, then on the flames, and then round the pot again. While Handuna placed his sword on the chest of Nila the spirit within him spoke saying he must go soon, but both Handuna and Kaira danced again before

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[1] It was perfectly clear that the idea of one *yaka* possessing two people at the same time presented no difficulty to Handuna and the rest of the Sitala Wanniya community.

796 returning to Nila and giving him their *kaduwa* to hold. Thi
they did because they wanted to put them down, and they con
535 sidered them too sacred and dangerous to be put on the ground
786 or even to be held by anyone who was not a grown man wh
had frequent intercourse with the spirits.

Handuna took the necklace from the *wilkoraha* and showed
796 it to one of us (B. Z. S.), to whom he gave it, asking for a rea
555 necklace instead of the bast one. Kaira followed Handuna and
gave to each of us betel leaves from the *wilkoraha* as a sign o
favour from the youngest of the Rahu Yaku. Then both wen
to the *massa*, looked at the offering, and then fell back into their
supporters' arms. We were told that the *yaka* was well pleased
with the offering and was about to depart from them, but Nila
sang the invocation and soon the two dancers began to tremble
and shake their heads, then shouting hah! hah! they sprang
forward and danced again. They picked up their *kaduwa* from
the *wilkoraha*, where they had been put for safety, this being
considered a sufficiently sacred spot. Using the leaves which
formed the hilts of their swords, they scooped out the coconut
milk from the *wilkoraha* and scattered it about, and those on
whom it happened to fall considered themselves lucky. Then
the *yaka* spoke to Nila saying that he wished to go, and Nila
answered "It is well." But before the *yaka* left Handuna and
Kaira, the two men danced toward that side of the cleared spot
where the women and children were grouped together, raising
their *kaduwa* and pointing at the group. One woman was
755 carrying a baby suffering from yaws, and Handuna held his
kaduwa over the child's head and promised that its sores should
be cured. Then Handuna and Kaira gave their *kaduwa* to
Nila; both bent their heads over the *massa* and the *yaka* left them.

The necklace was replaced on the *wilkoraha* which was put
796 with the *kaduwa* on the *massa*. Handuna and Kaira repeated
a charm over them and all were removed from the *massa*.
Handuna picked a few leafy twigs, put them under a tree,
then took the leaves from the *kaduwa* and placed them on
the freshly picked leaves, so that the hallowed leaves might
not touch the ground; he then poured the remains of the
coconut milk from the *wilkoraha* over them.

796 535 Plate LII, fig. 2 shows the *ruwala* built by Wannaku and his comrades at Maha Oya.

796 535 786 The dance began by Wannaku moving slowly round the central post. As he did this he sometimes waved the bundle of leaves which he held in his hands, at other times he held his hands close together in front of his body. As his dancing became quicker and more vigorous, Sina, his eldest son, placed himself behind him, and following his movements prepared to support him when he became possessed. Suddenly Wannaku fell forward assuming a cruciform attitude, his arms held stiffly at right angles to his body and his neck rigidly extended so that his head was pressed against the centre post of the *ruwala*, his supporter bearing the whole strain of holding him in this position. He still grasped the leaves in his hands, and his face was buried in the leaves tied to the centre post of the *ruwala*. He remained in this position for perhaps half a minute, then shaking violently he clutched the post in both hands. It was explained that the *yaku* were in the leaves tied to the *ruwala*, and that thence they passed into the body of the shaman, in whose shaking and quivering person they inspected and approved the structure of the *ruwala*, while the shaman clutched the central post. After a few moments the shaman danced again, this time more energetically than before, moving in and out of and round the structure of the *ruwala*, while he struck at the leaves pendant from its framework with the twigs he held in his hands. His movements became more violent, and he shouted several times. All this was explained as play on the part of the *yaku*, who thus showed their pleasure in the *ruwala* that had been built for them. Wannaku clutched at the side posts and bast streamers, and struck these with the leaves he held in his hands. The *yaku* thus examined the streamers to ascertain if they were properly made and of the right number. Wannaku then danced very energetically, and leaving the *ruwala* dragged Sina to where Mr Perera stood a few paces from the *ruwala*, and shaking and gesticulating violently spoke to him promising him success in all he undertook[1].

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[1] Mr Samuel Perera, Forest Ranger, was an old friend of the Uniche community, and it was owing to his presence and assistance at our first interview with Wannaku and his fellows that we were immediately on the best of terms with them.

Wannaku again danced in and out and round the structure, 796
then after striking the leaves and clutching the uprights of the 535
ruwala he dragged his supporter towards an elderly Vedda on- 786
looker, before whom he quivered and shouted as he had done before Mr Perera. We were told that in this case he prophesied success in hunting. After this he returned to the *ruwala*, and, still dancing and quivering, took a streamer in his left hand and shouting and dancing wiped its length with the bunch of leaves that he held in his right hand. He began this manœuvre at the east front of the *ruwala*, and taking each streamer in turn, went round in the opposite direction to the hands of a clock, but he soon turned and went round the reverse way; we were afterwards told that he should have gone clockwise all the time, and that when he did otherwise "it was a mistake." After this he danced round the central post, clutching at the leaves that hung from the roof of the *ruwala*, and at last moving so energetically and violently as to get away from his supporter Sina, who had been following his movements as best he could. About this time Sina himself became possessed, and after a few moments of extremely energetic dancing both men fell supine at the north front of the *ruwala*. Wannaku came to himself almost immediately, but Sina appeared to remain unconscious, even when lifted up and propped against the central post of the *ruwala*, while Wannaku shook bunches of leaves in his face and over his head, Wannaku meanwhile dancing energetically and repeating two words, to which the onlookers answered "Eh-h." We were told that the *yaku* in this way announced their satisfaction with the *ruwala* which had been built for them, and indicated that they were now ready to go.

Then Wannaku stumbled to the central post, to which he clung in a seemingly exhausted condition, partly supported by a Vedda, who had been following him since Sina fell to the ground. As Sina, who had been helped up by another man, still appeared in a semi-conscious condition, water was splashed over him, with the result that he soon came to himself. This was the end of the ceremonial as far as Ruwala Yaka and Ruwala Yakini were concerned, but after a short break another Vedda invoked two other *yaku*, Milalane Yaka and Milalane

796 535 786 Yakini, who live on a hill called Milalanegala. This Vedda danced in very much the same way as Wannaku had danced, and the few differences noted, such as his less energetic steps, were doubtless due to personal idiosyncrasy. However, he did not bury his head in the leaves tied to the central post on becoming possessed, but shook the leaves which he held in his right hand in his own face, having previously struck these against those pendant from the *ruwala*. After dancing for a short time he staggered up to Wannaku and spoke, the spirits possessing him asking why they were called and whether there was sickness amongst the people. To this Wannaku answered "No," telling the spirits that he had called them at the request of the white man who wished to know them. After this the celebrant again danced in and out of and round the *ruwala*, striking at the pendant leaves. Soon he buried his head in the leaves tied to the central post, his whole body quivering, then he quickly jumped away from the pole and made his way to the Ratemahatmaya of the district, who was an onlooker, and shook the leaves in his right hand against the latter's chest, telling him he would be successful in the business he was about to undertake. This was in answer to a question that the Ratemahatmaya had shouted a short time previously. There was more dancing round the central pole, the performer striking it with the leaves which he held in his hand; after a few minutes he approached Wannaku, and striking him with the leaves said something, and again danced round the central pole which he seized in his hand and shook four times, once facing each of the cardinal points of the compass, shouting loudly as he did so. This was the means adopted by the *yaku* to test the solidity of the structure. We were told that this dance was generally per- [755 787] formed in order to cure sickness, and if the pole fell or the structure came to pieces the patient for whose benefit it took place would die or others would become ill. At last with many quiverings and clutchings at the central post the *yaku* took their departure.

796 535 A similar dance lasting a shorter time, during which the dancer was possessed by Moranegala Yaka, then took place, after which Wannaku, who appeared to have quite recovered

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[787]

of an exhortation to the villagers not to be afraid, as no harm would come to them. It need hardly be said that such a prophecy was extremely *à propos* from my point of view. I began to think that perhaps the Chief Headman was right and the time spent upon the ceremony was not wholly wasted.

The two principal dancers at length finished their dance and returned to their station near the shrine; and in their place ten or a dozen people, with a very old man as *choregos*, danced a similar dance, threading their way among the ranks of the people in single file. From time to time they would suddenly break off their dance, and rushing back tumultuously to the open space about the "maypole" would beat upon the pole with the bunches of leaves which each of them held in either hand, crying "*Wach! wach! wach!*" The Chief Headman, himself a Hindu, gave me the following interesting interpretation of the symbolism of this dance:—"The pole represents Brahma, the Source of Life, and the dancers wandering about among the people represent human life, at the end of which the soul returns to its Creator for a while with glad cries."

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Later this dance was again danced by the same persons, led by the two red-jacketed principal dancers. Then the announcement was made that the goddess was coming from the river, and the two principal dancers began a very solemn, ecstatic dance under a canopy. As they danced the excitement grew tenser and tenser and their motions became more and more convulsive. They were firmly held by those near them,—a precaution necessary, the Chief Headman assured me, to prevent them from running amok among the spectators,—and seemed to struggle to shake off the restraint thus put upon them. Gradually, however, their efforts slackened, and they finally sank unconscious upon the ground.[*]

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them on pp. 335-9, and that the "principal dancers" mentioned were not coast Veddas, but were brought in from outside. The point is one of some interest; but as, unfortunately, I did not go into it at the time, I do not feel at all certain about it.

[*] The Seligmanns say on p. 134 of *The Veddas*, "Most sincere practitioners whom we interrogated in different localities agreed that . . . they never entirely lost consciousness." After the dance here described the

3:Naish G-5 (1925) 1930 AX5 Vedda AX5

123 It was now two o'clock in the morning, and, though the ceremony was by no means concluded, I had seen enough of it to appreciate its general nature and it behoved me to get a little sleep in preparation for the day's work before me. Accompanied by the Chief Headman I made my way back along the jungle paths and across the open spaces, still white in the moonlight,—with the throb of the tom-tom behind me becoming fainter and fainter as I pursued my way,—to the quiet of my lodging.

R. B. Naish.

[796 dancers lay upon the ground and certainly appeared to be genuinely and completely unconscious for about ten minutes, *i.e.*, up to the time
789] at which I left the clearing.

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787 **REVELATION AND DIVINATION**--practices reflecting anxiety about the future and often also a sense of inspiration; quest for visions and guardian spirits; hallucinatory revelations; communication with spirits (e.g., through spirit possession, through inspired oracles, through mediums); prophesy; clairvoyance; acquiring mystic insight through concentration and contemplation; interpretation of dreams; omens and their interpretation; divinatory practices and techniques (e.g., haruspicy, hepatoscopy, necromancy, scapulimancy, scrying, sortilege, astrology); etc. See also:

Personality disorders 158
Judicial oaths and ordeals 695
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becomes a *yaka*, for it appears that properly speaking the word 775 *yaka* should not be applied to the spirit of the dead for the first few days after it has left the body. During this short period the word *prana karaya* (living one) should be used for the spirit of the deceased, for it has not yet attained the condition implied by the term *yaka*. Among the Henebedda Veddas it was thought that the *prana karaya* resorted to Kande Yaka a few days, perhaps three or five, after death, and then obtained permission from him to accept offerings from the living, and thus become numbered among his attendants, the *Nae Yaku*; but beyond a vague idea that the spirit might perhaps exist for a short time at the site where death had occurred, these folk had no knowledge of its state before it reached Kande Yaka. The Bandaraduwa Veddas, who had come more under Sinhalese and Tamil influence, asserted that the spirit of the deceased spent some days in the neighbourhood of the death scene, which it only left to seek the Kataragam God and obtain his permission to become a *yaka* and pass into the train of attendants on Kande Yaka, and so become a *Nae Yaku* capable of accepting offerings from the living and in return helping or injuring them.

The method of invocation of the *yaku* is essentially the same 769 in all Vedda ceremonies; an invocation is sung by the shaman 787 and often by the onlookers, while the shaman slowly dances, 781 usually round the offering that has been prepared for the *yaku*. Sometimes the invocations are quite appropriate and either consist of straightforward appeals to the *yaka* invoked for help, or recite the deeds and prowess of the *yaka* when he too was a man, as when Kande Yaka is addressed as "continuing to go from hill to hill [who] follows up the traces from footprint to footprint of excellent sambar deer." But at other times the charms seem singularly inappropriate; probably in many of these instances they are the remains of old Sinhalese charms that have not only been displaced from their proper position and function, but have been mangled in the process, and have in the course of time become incomprehensible. As the charm is recited over and over again the shaman dances more and more quickly, his voice becomes hoarse and he soon becomes possessed by the *yaka*, and, although he does not lose consciousness and can coordinate

769 his movements, he nevertheless does not retain any clear recol-
lection of what he says, and only a general idea of the movements
787 he has performed. Although there is doubtless a certain element
791 of humbug about some of the performances, we believe that this
is only intentional among the tamer Veddas accustomed to show off before visitors, and that among the less sophisticated Veddas the singing and movements of the dance soon produce a more or less automatic condition, in which the mind of the shaman, being dominated by his belief in the reality of the *yaku*, and of his coming possession, really acts without being in a condition of complete volitional consciousness. Most sincere practitioners whom we interrogated in different localities agreed that although they never entirely lost consciousness, they nearly did so at times, and that they never fully appreciated what they said when possessed, while at both the beginning and end of possession they experienced a sensation of nausea and vertigo and the ground seemed to rock and sway beneath their feet.

Some men, including Handuna of Sitala Wanniya, whom
787 we consider one of the most trustworthy of our informants, said
791 that they were aware that they shivered and trembled when they
[115] became possessed, and Handuna heard booming noises in his
ears as the spirit left him and full consciousness returned. He said this usually happened after he had ceased to dance. We could not hear of any shaman who saw visions while possessed or experienced any olfactory or visual hallucinations before, during, or after possession. The Veddas recognise that women may become possessed, but we only saw one instance of (alleged) possession in a woman, which occurred at a rehearsal of a dance got up for our benefit on our first visit to Bendiyagalge, during which we are confident that none of the dancers were really possessed. Although we did not see the beginning of this woman's seizure we have little doubt that there was a large element of conscious deception in her actions, for when we became aware of her she was sitting bolt upright with her eyes shut and the lids quivering, apparently from the muscular effort of keeping them tightly closed, while opposite her was Tissahami the Vedda Arachi muttering spells over a coconut shell half full of water with which he dabbed her eyes and face.

It is not suggested that the conscious element is entirely 787
absent from the Vedda possession dances, it is impossible to 791
believe that such a sudden collapse as that occurring in the
Henebedda *kirikoraha* ceremony (p. 222) (when Kande Yaka
in the person of the shaman shoots the sambar deer), followed
by an almost instantaneous recovery, is entirely non-volitional.
and the same holds good for the pig-spearing in the Bambura
Yaka ceremony (p. 243) at Sitala Wanniya. We believe that
these facts can be fully accounted for by a partial abolition of
the will, that is to say, by a dulling of volition far short of
complete unconsciousness. The shaman in fact surrenders himself to the dance in the fullest sense, and it is this, combined
with a high degree of sub-conscious expectancy, which leads
him to enact almost automatically and certainly without careful
forethought the traditional parts of the dance in their conventionally correct order. Further, the assistant, who follows every
movement of the dancer, prepared to catch him when he falls,
may also greatly assist by conscious or unconscious suggestion
in the correct performance of these complicated possession
dances. Again, we do not think there can be any doubt as to
the non-volitional nature of the possession, by the *yaka*, of the
bystanders, near relatives of the dead man, which may take
place during the *Nae Yaku* ceremony[1].

One remarkable fact may be chronicled here, viz. that we 775
have never met a Vedda who had seen the spirit of a dead man,
that is to say, no Vedda ever saw a ghost, at least in his waking
hours. We have never been able to obtain any corroborative 787
evidence for Bailey's assertion that "the spirits [of the dead] 828
appear to them in dreams and tell them [the Veddas] where to
hunt." Veddas certainly dream, but Handuna and his son-in-law Kaira, two most trustworthy informants, said that they did

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[1] There was nothing about the general behaviour of any of the Veddas with whom [158]
we came in contact that suggested a specially neurotic or hysterical tendency. The graver stigmata of hysteria such as would warrant a diagnosis of functional disease were always absent and the Veddas, even when ill, were in no sense fuss makers or inclined to magnify their ailments in the way so many Melanesians do. We are indebted to Dr C. S. Myers for the suggestion that possession by the *yaku* can best be explained as an affection (dissociation) of altered personality. If this be so the condition is comparable to a number of well-known cases in the sphere of mental pathology.

787 821 not often have dreams. Dreams are considered uncanny, and Handuna said that, although a shaman, he himself feared them. He told us that a man would usually remain quietly in the rock-shelter for a whole day after a dream, and would not leave it to get food, even if staying in the cave meant going hungry. Handuna once dreamt that he had shot a monkey and brought it back to the cave, so he did not go out hunting the next day but stayed in the cave. He said that he had never had dreams that were of themselves of a terrifying nature, such as being attacked by bears or falling over a precipice. He dreamt of his father a few days after his death, but seldom or never since then. In his dream his dead father invited him to come hunting with him, and together they went into the jungle and found some yams and cooked and ate them. Handuna said that he was not afraid "because he was my father; what was there to be afraid of? Nevertheless I stayed in the cave, for I was sorry that day." Handuna told us that children—even small children that cannot talk—may wake up shrieking, but he has never heard of people talking in their sleep.

787 775 With regard to the causation of dreams there was a real but ill-defined belief connecting the dream-forms of dead relatives with the spirits (*yaku*) of the dead. Discussing this matter in connection with his dream of his dead father, Handuna said, "We think it is through love they come," but he showed that he realised that living people who were not near relatives might be seen in dreams, by volunteering the statement that at our departure he might dream of one of us (C. G. S.) to whom he was speaking.

Although the dream-forms of dead persons were vaguely associated with their *yaku*, it was generally denied that the dead seen in dreams told the living where to hunt, and it must be remembered that the general opinion was that no living person had ever seen a *yaka*, and it was only when specially discussing dreams that it was said that *yaku* were seen in dreams. Nor did the *Nae Yaku* regularly make their presence known in any other way than by possession, though some Veddas translated the minor noises of the jungle into signs of the presence of the *yaku*. These facts also seem to militate against the idea that any

considerable part of Vedda possession is a fraud, deliberately 787
conceived and perpetrated, for knowing, as many Veddas do, 775
of the frequency with which the Sinhalese see "devils" and "spirits" of all sorts, nothing would appear easier, if fraud were intended, than for a shaman to assert that he could see the spirits which every Vedda believes are constantly around him.

Arrows play a considerable part in the Vedda religion, two 778
forms of arrow being used. The first is the ordinary arrow used 411
for shooting game, the second a ceremonial arrow called *aude* with a blade 8 to 18 inches long, which is usually but not always hafted into a handle often considerably shorter than the blade[1]. Both forms of arrows are used in the possession dances described in Chapter IX, but in addition to this the shooting arrow is used as a protection to infants, being commonly thrust in the ground by the side of a sleeping child when its mother is forced to leave it. We heard of this custom in several communities, and at Sitala Wanniya, where arrows were scarce, were shown a wooden bladed arrow which was said to be used in this way (figure 7 (*a*)); *aude* might also be made of wood when an iron blade was not available, and figure 7 (*b*) shows a wooden *aude* made for us at Henebedda. These facts are important as showing that the power of the arrow lies in itself and not in its iron blade.

The protective power of the arrow was noted by Nevill, who 411
stated that the Nilgala Veddas "regard the symbol of an arrow, 778
placed by their babe, as efficient protection for it. They leave 854
tiny babes upon the sand for hours together, with no other guard than an arrow stuck in the ground by their side. Their belief in the efficacy of this has received no shock. They never knew such a child to be attacked by wild beasts, pigs, leopards, jackals, etc. or harmed[2]."

With regard to the long-bladed and short-handled cere- 778
monial arrows, the handles of these are sometimes covered with 411
incisions so roughly executed that they do not form a pattern and can hardly be decorative even in intention, so that probably they only serve the useful purpose of preventing the hand from

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[1] These ceremonial arrows are doubtless identical with the large blades described by various authors as formerly used in shooting elephants.

[2] *Op. cit.* Vol. 1, p. 185.

Mangara Deyo is invoked to protect cattle. About a month 776
before our visit a nephew of the shaman suffered from headache 755
and fever and woke up in the middle of the night in a great
state of alarm. It was ascertained by stone augury that Mangara
Deyo had sent the sickness, offerings were made to him, and the
youngster speedily recovered.

There are no dances at a man's death or invocations to the 231
spirits of the dead, nor did there appear to be any particular 776
spirit who gave luck in hunting, indeed it seemed that game was 769
little sought, the whole activity of the community being concentrated
on cattle breeding.

The temple of Mangara Deyo is a small bare hut, with the 778
roof projecting a few feet beyond that wall in which the door is 346
cut. The inside of the temple is quite bare except for a narrow
wooden rack about a foot wide which runs round the two side and
back walls at a height of about four feet from the ground. In
one corner of this was a pile of *aude* of all shapes and sizes which
were said to belong to Mangara Deyo.

ROTAWAEWA.

Mr G. W. Jayawardene writes as follows concerning the 776
beliefs of the Tamankaduwa "Veddas" described on p. 56. 753
"They regard Adukganna Hulawali Yaka and Vedi Yaka
as the important *yaku*. Adukganna Hulawali Yaka is the
spirit to whom they look to be cured of sickness. When any
one is ill he or she or someone on their behalf puts aside
one or two cents which are wrapped in a clean piece of cloth 776
and from each house an offering of food is made. Vedi Yaka is 224
the spirit they look to for help in getting game. When an
animal is killed the heart is taken and roasted and offered on
a stick with the end split into four to hold the heart under
a tree." Commenting on this Mr B. Horsburgh writes, "Adukganna 776
Hulawali Yaka is the spirit of a Vedda who was killed by 775
King Mahasena for refusing to leave Minneriya tank when he 787
was going to restore it. The name Adukganna Hulawaliyaka
means Hulawali Yaka who takes the *adukkuwa* or present of
food (from the offering made to him). He is only seen in dreams,

776 when he takes the shape of a well made young man dressed
775 in white and with a white stick in his hand. Vedi Yaka also
787 appears only in dreams, as a black man in a cloth with nothing
else particular about him[1]."

THE AVOIDANCE OF CERTAIN FOODS.

262 It must be assumed that the following prohibitions are of a religious or of a magico-religious nature, and for this reason they are included in the present chapter. They do not appear to be connected with totemism, yet we do not feel confident that they are derived from Hinduism, as is suggested by the Sarasins[2]. In this doubt we have the support of Mr Parker who writes: "This prohibition appears to have no connection with Hinduism, or the common Brown Monkey, *Rilawā* (*Macacus pileatus*), would be included, and also the Rat, as the vāhana of Ganēsa, and the Turtle as representative of Vishnu; or some of these[3]."

Bailey writes, "The Veddahs eat the flesh of elk, deer, monkeys, pigs, the iguana, and pengolin—all flesh indeed, but that of oxen, elephants, leopards, and jackals; and all birds, except the wild or domestic fowl. They will not touch lizards, bats, or snakes.

"They can assign no reason for their abstinence from the flesh of these beasts and birds which I have enumerated, but their objection to beef and fowls, though quite unexplained, is decidedly the most marked, so much so that during my inquiries I found that they spontaneously expressed their antipathy, though it required cross examination to elicit the fact that they also avoid the other kinds of flesh[4]."

We are able to confirm Bailey's statement as far as it concerns the flesh of mammals, with the reservation that most Veddas do not eat porcupine. With regard to birds, the Veddas of Henebedda said they would not eat fowls or eagles. The majority of Veddas, including even the degenerate Veddas of the coast, avoid eating fowl, though many of the settled village Veddas keep them for sale or for the sake of their eggs, and in many places the flesh of the jungle cock is avoided as well as that of the domesticated bird. Many Veddas when questioned about fowl said, that though they did not eat it themselves other Veddas would, and some alleged that the reason for their abstinence was that fowls eat dirt. The lay members of the Sitala Wanniya community had no objection to eating fowl, though Handuna avoided it because he was a shaman. 262

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[1] Both the passages quoted are from a report by Mr Horsburgh to the Colonial Secretary.

[2] *Op. cit.* p. 415.

[3] *Ancient Ceylon*, p. 191.

[4] *Op. cit.* pp. 287 and 288.

Further, those Veddas who eat fowl, avoid eating it when about to take part in a dance. When discussing this matter at Sitala Wanniya, Vela, who was not a shaman, was about to take part in the Dola Yaka ceremony described in Chapter IX, and it was then explained that this day he must avoid fowl, though at other times it would not matter if he were to eat it or not. The reason was not clear, while one man said that it was because the *yaku* did not like fowl, and so would not readily enter him after he had eaten it, another said that should a man become possessed after eating fowl it might be difficult to regain consciousness. It is equally necessary for shamans to avoid eating pig, though the reason for this was more definitely stated, namely, that the *yaku* disliked this animal. 262 787

Although shamans will not eat pig, they have no scruples with regard to killing it, but they must not touch it or cut it up. If they were to neglect this observance they would be ill and shiver for four or five days afterwards, even when seated comfortably in the cave. The arrow with which a pig had been killed must be cleaned by a man who is not a shaman, and may then be used again by the shaman. The shaman of the sophisticated Veddas said that he would eat only rice, coconut milk, salt, bananas and cow's milk for some days before invoking the *yaku*, and this man insisted on having a daily ration of rice for several days before the *Nae Yaku* ceremony held after the death of Tuta. But as all these foods are foreign to the wilder Veddas and must be obtained by trade, these abstinences have assuredly been introduced, and certainly no custom of this sort is observed at Sitala Wanniya or even at Henebedda. 262 791

The suggestion that these prohibitions have been taken over from Hinduism will not explain the equally strong objection to 262

dominated, what more natural than that collapse should occur 535
or be feigned by the less honest or susceptible practitioners? 786
There is no doubt that the Vedda ceremonies make considerable demand on the bodily powers of the dancers, but this is not so great as in the case of the Sinhalese devil ceremony of Gonagolla, since the Vedda ceremonies are of shorter duration—none we saw lasted over two hours and the majority certainly did not take so long. In spite of this we noted, after more than one ceremony, that the shaman was genuinely tired, and this was the case at Sitala Wanniya, where Kaira appeared actually exhausted at the end of the Pata Yaka ceremony.

We may now refer to the steps of the Vedda dance. The 535
Drs Sarasin have described the steps of the arrow dance of the Henebedda Veddas in an elaborate and rather formal manner. We shall shortly quote their description of this dance and meanwhile content ourselves with summarising the movements of the Vedda dances. Essentially, these appear to consist of steps taken alternately with each foot, each step being followed by a couple of pats on the ground delivered with the ball of the foot that is in advance, and after each such movement with right or left foot a half turn is made. The rhythm of the dance is kept by swaying the body gently from the waist, the hands (when not beating the body or holding an object) being allowed to swing freely; with each half turn forward the body is inclined forward and the head bent so that the hair falls over the face, and with each half turn backwards the head is thrown backwards. The dance always begins slowly and gently, the back foot still touching the ground while that foot with which the step has been made performs the double pat, so that just at first it is little more than a shuffle, soon, however, the feet are raised more and more and longer paces are taken, the back foot no longer remains on the ground while the double pat is made and the swaying and bending of the body is greatly increased.

When the *yaka* enters the person of a shaman it is customary 535
for him to inspect the offerings, and if he is pleased—which is 787
almost invariably the case—he will show his pleasure. This is usually done by bending the head low over the offering, then

535 springing away and shouting "Ah! Ah!" while taking short deep breaths. The natural outcome of the *yaka's* gratitude is
787 a promise of favours to the community. When prophesying good luck, the shaman places one or both hands on the participant's shoulders, or if he carries an *aude* or other sacred object, the shaman holds this against the latter's chest or, more rarely, presses it on the top of his head. His whole manner is agitated and he usually shuffles his feet, speaks in a hoarse somewhat guttural voice taking short deep breaths, and punctuates his remarks with a deep "Ah! Ah!"

With regard to the arrows and other special objects which
787 are used when invoking the *yaku*, in which class we include such
778 bower-like structures as the *alutyakagama*, the *ruwala* and the
535 *kolomaduwa*, all described in this Chapter, we must point out that these simply act as conductors and resting places for the *yaku*. It was stated that Kande Yaka could not and would not come when invoked, unless his arrow were held, and the same idea accounts for the arrow dance, performed round an arrow struck in the ground in order to obtain game. Again the leaves in the bower-like structures with the aid of which the *yaku* were invoked were considered the resting place of the *yaku* which they left in order to enter the shaman. The number of *yaku* who came to the bower was not thought to be limited to those who possessed the shaman, on the contrary, important *yaku* were thought to bring their attendants (*piriwari*), who remained among the leaves which their lord left to possess the shaman, and it was to drive away the *yaku* who might unduly prolong their stay in the bower prepared for them, that the leaves were beaten and more or less stripped from the bowers at the end of the ceremony.

Before leaving the subject we would point out that though
778 *yaku* might be spoken of as arrow-yaka (Itale Yaka), bow-yaka (Dunne Yakini) and so forth, such names do not imply that the *yaka* in question is immanent in the object or is believed to stand in specially close relationship to all objects of that class. In the case of Itale Yaka the idea was "the *yaka* who is invoked by means of an arrow"; in the case of Dunne Yakini the name simply refers to the skill of the nameless heroine who killed the

boar wounded by the companions of Bandura, as is related in 778 the Bambura Yaka dance.

The Henebedda Veddas washed before performing or assisting 187 at the *kirikoraha* seen by us, and every Vedda who invoked the 531 *yaku*, either let down his hair before beginning to dance or while 291 dancing, in the latter instance presumably as he felt "possession" coming upon him. Many Veddas put on the *hangala* before [515] dancing, this being a length of white cloth worn round the waist as is shown in many of the photographs reproduced in this chapter. Presumably this was not worn for the arrow dance, which is especially performed by unsuccessful hunters without any special preparation. We do not think that a leaf girdle was ever worn as a ceremonial garment when dancing. Handuna of Sitala Wanniya said that at some time, which he put more than three generations ago, there were Veddas, whom he called *Attukola Veddo*, who lived so remote from the Sinhalese that they had no cloth and so always wore leaf girdles, but he was quite confident that no Veddas who had cloth ever wore such girdles especially to invoke the *yaku*. This agrees with Nevill's conclusions[1] and does not conflict with the experience of the Sarasins[2].

The Roman numbers in parentheses after references to invocations in the accounts of the ceremonies described in this chapter refer to the invocations given in Chapter X.

THE ARROW DANCE.

This, the simplest of the Vedda dances, has been described 535 at length by the Drs Sarasin who saw it danced by "Veddas of the Nilgala district[3]." We have already quoted Bailey's account of the arrow dance as he found it danced by the ancestors of these Veddas two generations ago, and Monsieur Emile

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[1] "I have especially questioned the best informed Vaeddas whether leaves were worn, either at ceremonies or otherwise. They all say yes, they were worn once, when cotton cloth was hard and dear to get, by those who lived where there were no Riti trees. They were only worn by the poorest, and from necessity, not choice. The leaves chosen were those of shrubs, the branches of which ended in rather pendulous sprays of foliage, and these were tucked under the waist string as a sort of apron." (*Op. cit.* p. 188)

[2] *Op. cit.* pp. 387—389

[3] *Op. cit.* pp. 512—514.

535 787 We were told at Bandaraduwa that if men had no luck in hunting they might thrust an arrow into the ground, decorate it with leaves of the *na* tree (*Messua ferruginea*) or the *mille*, and dance round it. If a shaman were present, which was not necessary, he would naturally take part in this, and any number might participate. This dance was performed at our request, the shaman and a Vedda called Tambia taking part in it. Two clusters of *na* leaves were tied to an arrow, one just below the feathers and another immediately above the blade. This was struck in the ground (Plate XXVII, fig. 1) and the dancers slowly moved round it singing an invocation (No. xv). Soon they both became possessed, the shaman falling into the arms of his supporter (Plate XXVII, fig. 2), almost immediately after which he came to one of the onlookers and promised him a sambar deer if he would hunt in a westerly direction early the next morning. Several times during the dance the performers touched the leaves tied to the upper part of the arrow, and bending low gathered them up to their faces (as in Plate XXVIII, fig. 1), while their hair mingled with the leaves. The shaman afterwards explained that the *yaka* first came to the arrow and the leaves tied to it, and then entered the persons of the dancers who became possessed. Before the *yaka* left the dancers bent low over the arrow shaking their heads violently, and after the dance both men salaamed to the arrow.

776 The *yaka* invoked in this dance was sometimes called Itale Yaka (Arrow Yaka), and though identical with Kande Yaka, there was nevertheless a tendency to think of Itale Yaka as a separate spirit, who was not so generally well disposed as Kande Yaka. We discovered this by the shaman refusing to sing the invocation into the phonograph when we were surrounded by children, lest his attention being attracted, the *yaka* should come, which might be dangerous to the little ones. It must be [177] remembered that the Bandaraduwa community had been much exposed to foreign influence, so that there is nothing surprising in their *yaku* having to a certain extent assumed the dangerous complexion of Sinhalese and Tamil demons.

535 Although the arrow dance originally had, and still has, a religious significance, since it is danced to procure game and as

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787

Plate XXVII

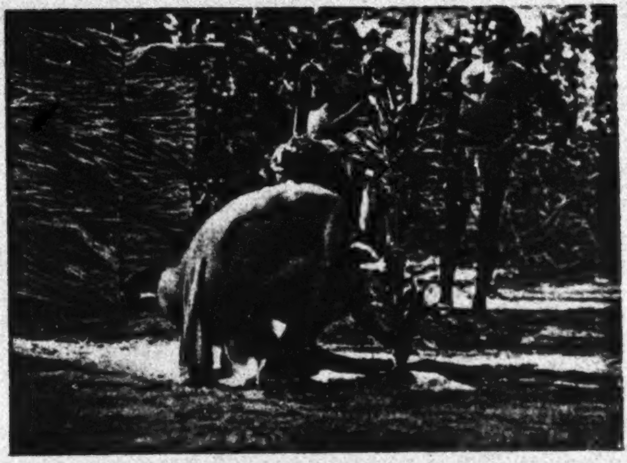

Fig. 1. Itale Yaka ceremony. Arrow with *Na* leaves attached (Bandaraduwa)*

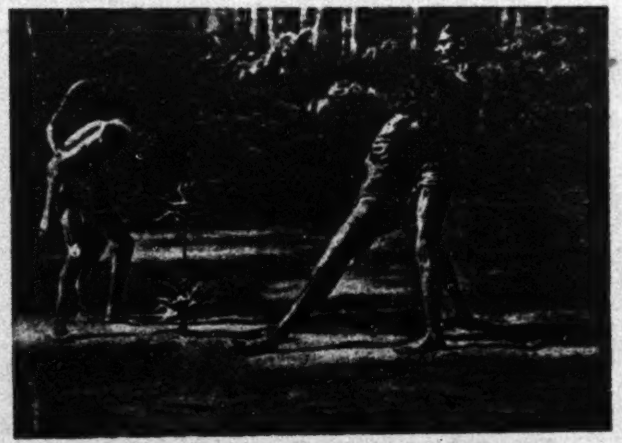

Fig. 2 Itale Yaka ceremony (Bandaraduwa)*

[facing p.216]

Plate XXVIII

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787

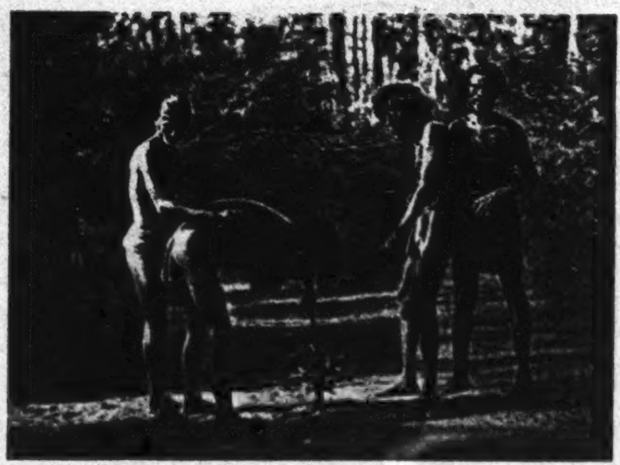

Fig. 1. Itale Yaka ceremony (Bandaraduwa)*

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Fig. ~~2.~~ The Adukku Denawa ceremony (Henebedda)

[facing p.216]

the Henebedda *kirikoraha*) it is usually poured on the ground 796
without any ceremony.

A description of the phenomena of "possession" of the Vedda 796
shaman by the *yaku* has already been given in Chapter VI, so
that nothing need be said on that matter in connection with this 787
dance or any of the ceremonies described in this chapter, in all of which "possession" occurred.

The essential features of the *kirikoraha* are two in number. The first of these is the offering of coconut milk and generally [782]
of other food to Kande Yaka and Bilindi Yaka and sometimes other *yaku* regarded as their attendants. Secondly the pantomimic representation by the shaman, while possessed by Kande Yaka, of Kande Wanniya tracking and shooting a sambar deer. This pantomime seems to occur only when "possession" by Kande Yaka takes place, for whenever any pantomime of this sort was enacted, even in the most shortened and conventional form, as in the Nae Yaku ceremony (described on pp. 233 to 237 of this chapter), the shaman was held to be possessed by Kande Yaka.

We witnessed four *kirikoraha* ceremonies during our stay in 796
the Vedda country. One was performed by the Henebedda Veddas in thanksgiving for a fine buck which one of them had shot, and the other three were undertaken at our request, but we have no doubt that they were accurately performed; for the Veddas were always pleased to perform any ceremonial dance provided the correct offering were given, as thereby they gained the favour of the *yaku*, and it was seldom that they were able to offer such food as we gave them for the purpose. The *kirikoraha* ceremony appears to be held equally as a thanksgiving for game killed and in order to obtain success in the future.

The Kirikoraha at Bendiyagalge. A fine buck was killed late in the afternoon of the 7th of February, 1908, and was carried to a flat rock between our camp and the Bendiyagalge caves and rapidly skinned and cut up during the short tropical twilight. A *kirikoraha* ceremony was performed the next morning, before taking part in which all the men went to the neighbouring stream and bathed, and afterwards made an offering of food to the *yaku*.

796 Some rice with coconut and chillies had previously been cooked at the cave together with certain portions of the deer, the flesh from the head, sternum and front of the ribs, and the whole was brought down to the *talawa*. This food formed the offering (*aduk*), and the ceremony of *adukku denawa* or "offering the food" was performed before the dance began. The shaman, Randu Wanniya, squatted in front of the food, and with his hands together repeated a dedicatory invocation to Kande Yaka and Bilindi Yaka, which lasted nearly ten minutes, and consisted mainly, if not entirely, of repetitions of invocation No. XIX. It was performed in gratitude for all deer and sambar killed, and in it the *yaku* were invited to accept the offering of food which was left for them for a short time and afterwards eaten by the Veddas themselves. Fig. 2 of Plate XXVIII shows the shaman invoking the *yaku* with the offering in front of him. This ceremony, called *adukku denawa* (literally "the giving of cooked food"), is always held before a *kirikoraha* when game has been killed, but it is not itself part of the latter ceremony.

An open part of the *talawa* near the caves was selected as a dancing ground, and a tripod called *mukkaliya* was made by binding three sticks together on which an earthen pot, the *kirikoraha*, was placed, and a ceremonial arrow (*aude*) laid upon it.

The shaman took a coconut and the *aude*, held them to his head and salaamed while Poromala smeared some resin on a stick and afterwards censed the *aude* which was held so that the smoke might eddy round it, for thus would Kande Yaka smell the incense and be pleased (Plate XXIX, fig. 1). At the same time the shaman repeated the invocation (No. XIX) to Kande Yaka.

This appeared to be one of the many incidents pointing to the fact that when *yaku* are invoked they first come to their special vehicles (Kande always to an *aude*, other *yaku* to leaves, swords and various articles), and from these enter the person of the shaman.

796 All sang the invocation, and the shaman danced round the
535 tripod holding the *aude* and coconut together in both hands and
787 waving them rhythmically as he performed the orthodox Vedda step, i.e. one pace with each foot followed by a couple of pats on the ground with the ball of the same foot, every step being

Plate XXIX

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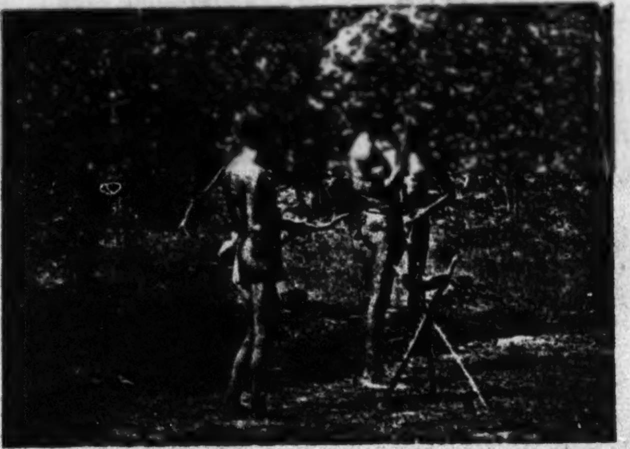

Fig. 1. Kirikoraha ceremony, censing the *aude* and coconut (Henebedda)

Fig. 2. Kirikoraha ceremony, the shaman dances with the *aude* and coconut (Henebedda)

[facing p. 22[illegible]]

Plate XXX

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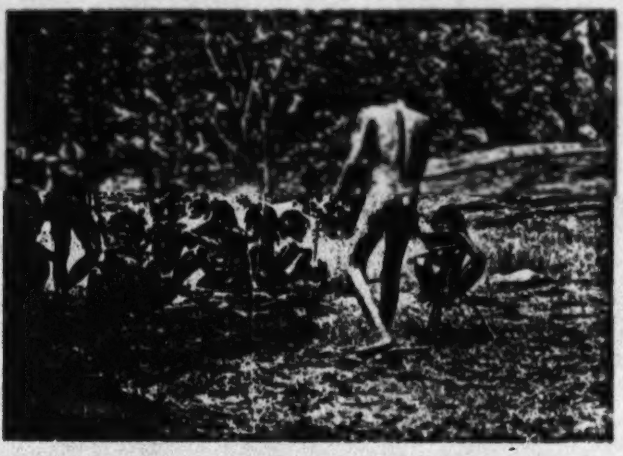

Fig. 1. Kirikoraha ceremony, the shaman dances with the *aude* and coconut (Henebedda)

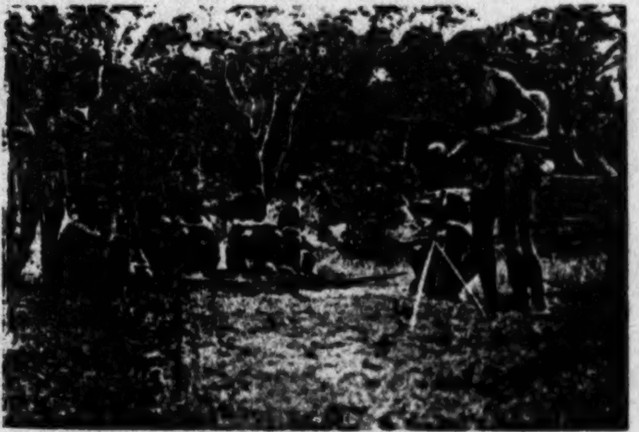

Fig. 2. Kirikoraha ceremony, the shaman breaking the coconut (Henebedda)

[facing p. 228b]

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followed by a half turn of the body to the accompaniment of sounds produced by some of those who were not dancing slapping their sides. The shaman next sang the invocation to Bilindi Yaka (No. XXI), and after a short time he showed signs of becoming possessed; he shivered and shook his head, and with the *aude* in his right hand he struck the coconut which he held in his left and broke it in half (Plate XXX, fig. 2), letting the water fall into the *kirikoraha*. The way in which the nut split was prophetic; if a clean break was made the animal to be promised later would be a female, but if the edges were jagged a male would be shot. The shaman was now possessed by Bilindi Yaka, and with half the nut in each hand came to each of us in turn, placed his arms on our shoulders, and in the hoarse gasping voice of the *yaka* promised us good hunting and protection from wild animals.

Two of the younger Veddas, Poromala and Sita Wanniya, scraped the meat of the coconut with the *aude* to make the milk, and afterwards placed one half shell on the end of one of the sticks forming the tripod, and the other below the *kirikoraha*. Leaves taken from any tree, but said to represent betel leaves, were also placed in the *kirikoraha*. There was no reason for the particular position of the coconut shells, but as they were considered part of the offering to the *yaka*, it would have been considered disrespectful to the *yaka* to place them on the ground. This rule was observed in all the dances that we witnessed. All sang the invocation again, and the shaman, Randu Wanniya, continued to dance, holding the handle of the *aude* in the right hand and the point of the blade in the left, turning it with a rotatory movement as he danced, gradually swaying his body more and more and lifting his feet higher from the ground. He went to the *kirikoraha* and inspected the milk, letting it run through his fingers (Plate XXXI, fig. 1), and dropping some on the *aude* to see if it was rich enough. Apparently he was satisfied with its quality, and soon he fell back into the arms of Sita Wanniya who supported him. After a short time he revived with much quivering of muscles and gasping for breath, and taking a handful of the coconut milk he shouted and approached Tissahami the Vedda Arachi[1] (who

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[1] This man, concerning whom something has been said on p. 41, was known to

796 was then staying in our camp) and scattered the milk over him, while with the right hand on his shoulder he expressed his 535 pleasure in seeing him and promised him luck in hunting. 787 Then after prophesying good hunting to each of us in turn and to several of the Veddas, Bilindi Yaka left the shaman.

Randu Wanniya again danced eastward round the *kirikoraha*, holding the *aude* in both hands, but soon he began to crouch and point it to the ground, and then pretended to thrust it at imaginary footprints (Plate XXXI, fig. 2). His excited manner showed that he was now possessed by Kande Yaka, whom he represented following the slot of a sambar. Soon Sita Wanniya took the *aude* away from him and gave him a bow and arrow, and the tracking continued amidst intense excitement (Plate XXXII, fig. 1). Sita Wanniya followed closely, ready to support the shaman if he should fall, while others pointed out the slot to him till at last, a basket having been placed on the ground, he drew his bow and transfixed it.

786 787 Plate XXXII, fig. 2 shows the group round the shaman as the arrow left the bow. As the arrow sped the shaman fell back seemingly exhausted and almost senseless. The *yaka* did not, however, finally depart from the shaman, but merely went to the quarry to ascertain if his arrow had proved fatal. The shaman soon came to himself, apparently satisfied, and bent his head (Plate XXXIII, fig. 1) over the *kirikoraha*, and then shouting "Ah, ah!" in the usual agitated manner of one possessed by the *yaku* came to each of us in turn and placed the *aude* on our heads, thereby granting us jungle favour, after which he went to several of the Veddas prophesying good luck in hunting to each of them (Plate XXXIII, fig. 2). Then taking the half shells of the coconut in either hand and waving them about, he danced round the *kirikoraha* and bent his head over the pot so that the *yaka* might drink, and afterwards fell into the arms of Sita Wanniya, who had been following, ready to support him. Again the shaman revived, and, putting his arms on our interpreter, promised him victory in all undertakings. Then returning to the *kirikoraha*, and having given the *aude* to one of

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the Henebedda community and was much respected both because of his Vedda blood and because of his renown as a charmer and medicine man (*vederala*).

Plate XXXI

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Fig. 1. Kirikoraha ceremony, the shaman examines the offering of coconut-milk (Henebedda)

Fig. 2. Kirikoraha ceremony, the shaman stalking the sambar (Henebedda)

[facing p. 222]

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Plate XXXII

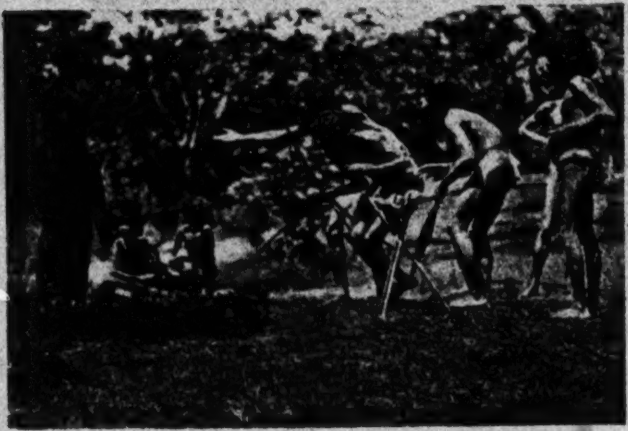

Fig. 1. Kirikoraha ceremony, the shaman tracking the sambar (Henebedda)

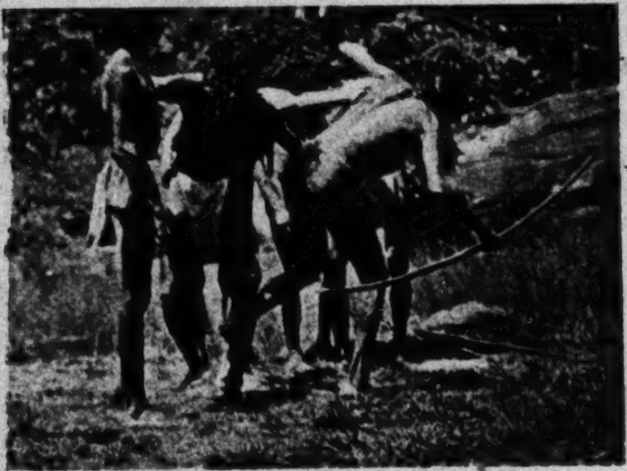

Fig. 2. Kirikoraha ceremony, the shaman shoots the sambar (Henebedda)

[facing p. 222 b]

Plate XXXIII

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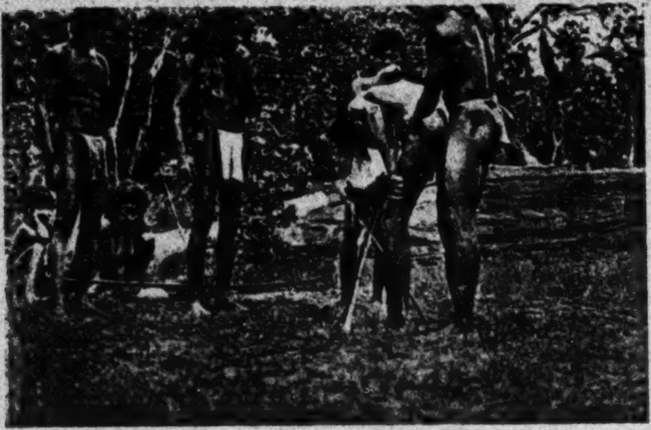

Fig. 1. Kirikoraha ceremony, the shaman bends his head over the coconut milk (Henebedda)

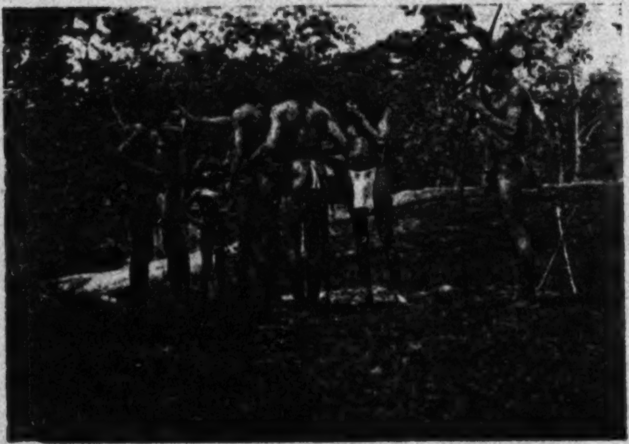

Fig. 2. Kirikoraha ceremony, the shaman possessed by Bilindi Yaka promises good hunting (Henebedda)

[facing p. 222S]

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Plate XXXIV

Kirikoraha ceremony, the shaman about to spin the pot (Henebedda)

[facing p.222 d]

the onlookers, who were all willing assistants, he filled the palms 796
of his hands with milk and bounded forward, and raising his 787
hands with every step he scattered the milk, and in this manner
the *yaka* within him showed his pleasure. Next he took the
kirikoraha from the tripod with both hands (Plate XXXIV,
fig. 1), spun it on the ground, and immediately it left his
hands he fell back. The spinning was prophetic, for in that
direction towards which the bowl dipped as it came to rest, there
game would be found; and on this occasion it dipped to the
north. When the shaman revived a few seconds later, Kande
Yaka had left him, and he was possessed by Bilindi Yaka again.
With shouts, gasping and trembling, he came to most of the
onlookers and promised good hunting in the usual manner, then
he took the *kirikoraha* and spun it, but when it left his hands the
spirit departed from the shaman and he fell back.

The dance was now over, and all were eager to partake of 796
the coconut milk which had been offered to the *yaku*, for none of 562
it might be wasted. All the men took a little, and also fed the 783
children with it, but the women were not allowed to partake of
it. However, as the mere contact of the milk had virtue the
shaman rubbed some on their heads. In other less sophisticated
communities women were not looked upon as unclean, and they
shared in this and other food offered to the *yaku*. As has
already been stated there is little doubt that the idea of [177]
women being unclean has been borrowed from the Sinhalese,
among whom it is very strongly held. A little of the contents
of the *kirikoraha* might also be rubbed on the heads of the dogs
which were supposed to be more likely to hunt successfully
after this.

The Kirikoraha at Sitala Wanniya. Kande Yaka, 796
Bilindi Yaka and Indigollae Yaka were all invoked at the
kirikoraha held at Sitala Wanniya. Indigollae was held to
be the principal attendant of Kande Yaka, and though the
invocation sung to him refers to "seven pots of blood" our
informants were unable to give us any meaning for this[1].

Handuna, the shaman of the Sitala Wanniya community, did

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[1] This matter is briefly discussed in Chapter X after the invocation (No. XXXII) to Indigollae Yaka.

796 not possess an *aude*, having given his to a white man who knew not its value, but since an *aude* must be used when invoking Kande Yaka and Bilindi Yaka, Handuna unfastened the blade from one of his shooting arrows to represent an *aude*. Having put on the *hangala* he burnt some resin and censed the *kirikoraha*. This had been placed on a support of the usual form in the centre of the dancing ground, and the arrow blade and some betel leaves had been placed in it. Two pots of boiled rice had been placed upon a small platform or altar (*maessa*) which had been built for, and used in, another ceremony.

The shaman raised the coconut and salaamed to the
796 *kirikoraha* and then danced round and round it, singing the
535 invocation given in Chapter X (No. XVI) and exhibiting the
787 nut to the *yaku* and thrusting at the pot as he danced though
not actually hitting it. The step was the usual one with many half turns and performed clockwise. Handuna now invoked Bilindi Yaka (Chapter X, invocation No. XVIII) and soon he fell back and was supported for a few seconds, but revived almost immediately, when he became possessed by Bilindi Yaka. An axe was given him by one of the Veddas with which he hit the coconut so as to split it, letting the water pour out on the ground. Then with a half coconut in each hand he danced up to Vela shouting "Houh! houh!" and held the nuts against his chest while with head bent and body swaying he said, "You have offered me coconut, and I have come, why did you call me?" For coconut, instead of the usual word *pol* he used *sudu ewa*, literally "the white one" or "the white thing." Again he danced round the pot and bent his head low over it, in this way showing his satisfaction with the offering. Whilst he continued to dance Vela and Kaira made the coconut milk, putting the remains of the flesh of the nut on the pots of rice which had been placed on the *maesa*. Handuna now took the arrow blade from the *kirikoraha* and danced with it, holding its ends in either hand and twirling it round between his fingers; taking it in his right hand, he stabbed sharply at the pot as he danced round it, taking care, however, never to hit the pot. He dipped the arrow into the pot and examined the milk on the

blade, then scattered it to show that he was pleased, shouting 796
several times *Has Bilindi! Has Bilindi!* to which Kaira always 535
answered *divas* or "Lord." He danced again, stretching alter- 787
nately his right and left arms, and about this time Bilindi Yaka left and Kande Yaka entered him without any outward signs, so that we did not recognise the change which had taken place until presently he danced round the *kirikoraha* with one arm extended and holding the arrow blade by its centre. We were told that he was possessed by Kande Yaka, who in his person performed the traditional pantomime of tracking the sambar by its slots, pointing at them with the arrow. This scene was not acted so thoroughly as it was at Bendiyagalge. Handuna picked up a few leaves and held them across the arrow to represent a bow whilst he crouched in a position ready to shoot; then, dipping his hand in the *kirikoraha* he dropped some milk on the leaves and got up and danced. Filling the palms of his hands with the milk he went to Kaira and said: "The sambar you shall shoot shall bleed like this milk dripping." Coming to one of us he placed one arm on his shoulder, holding a betel leaf moist with milk in the other outstretched hand, and prophesied sambar to the bow of Kaira. With head slightly thrown back and rapt expression he told of Indigollae and the seven pots of blood—and now it seemed that Kande Yaka went and Indigollae Yaka came[1]. Before going back to the *kirikoraha* Handuna gave one of us (C.G.S.) a betel leaf as a sign of favour, and then taking another from the *kirikoraha* he allowed some milk to drip over it before he let it fall to the ground. Then with the arrow head he made two slits in the leaf not quite extending to the base, and again dipped it in the milk. Next he went to Vela and passed the slit leaf slowly over his head and finally slapped it on his chest. He did the same thing to Kaira with an uncut leaf, and it was noted that when the leaves fell to the ground off the men's chests they were picked up carefully and put in the *kirikoraha*. The cuts in the leaf denoted that the sambar promised to Vela would be horned. The manner in which the leaf falls is also considered prophetic; when, as in this case, it falls with its

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[1] His invocation is given in Chapter X, No. XXXII.

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under surface upwards, the quarry will take long to kill; if, on the other hand, the leaf fall with its upper surface upwards, death will be speedy.

After this Handuna again danced round the *kirikoraha*, holding the arrow in it, and showed his favour to each of the male onlookers by passing a milky betel leaf over their heads and placing it on their chests. This was repeated several times alternating with dances and quiverings over the pot before Handuna finally shook his head over the pot and fell back with a shout, the *yaka* having left him.

Now Indigollae Yakini, the wife of Indigollae Yaka, was invoked, and we were told that Kaira who performed this dance would have worn beads on his wrists had he possessed them. He danced in the usual way round the *kirikoraha* with the arrow head which transfixed a betel leaf in one hand, when suddenly dropping his head over the *kirikoraha* he shouted and apparently became possessed by the *yakini*. Gasping and shaking he went to both Handuna and Vela and put milky betel leaves on their chests, and spoke to them, raising his arms alternately and shuffling his feet. He returned to the pot and danced, stretching his arms and then crossing them across his body as he would have done had he been holding a couple of *auds*, swaying his body and moving vigorously. Several times he bent over the *kirikoraha* and each time leapt back with a shout and danced again. At last Handuna pointed to the offering of rice on the *maesa*, which he approached and inspected while gasping and shaking, then evidently satisfied with this he sprang forward to the *kirikoraha*, dropped his head over it and fell back exhausted, but no longer possessed by any *yaka*.

The Kirikoraha at Uniche. The *kirikoraha* performed at Maha Oya by Wannaku of Uniche seemed to be intermediate between the ceremony of the wilder Veddas where the original idea, namely Kande Yaka tracking the elk, was the dominant feature, and that danced by the village Veddas at Unuwatura Bubula where this *motif* was omitted.

A *maesa* was built (though not elaborated into a *bulutyahana* as at Unuwatura Bubula), a white cloth was laid over it and betel leaves, areca nuts, bananas, coconuts, and two pots of

cooked rice were placed on it, as well as the *kirikoraha* itself 796
containing the coconut milk, in which two *aude* had been 535
placed. All these offerings were then covered with a red cloth, 787
the red colour being said to be necessary.

Before describing the dance it must be explained that the Uniche Veddas had come to Maha Oya, some twenty-four miles from their home, and the shaman had not brought his *aude* with him, so we offered to lend him two, a small one we had collected at Unuwatura Bubula, and a particularly fine one lent to us by Tissahami, the Vedda Arachi, the Sinhalese headman already referred to, who in his youth had lived a great deal among Veddas, and from whom he had received the *aude*. This *aude*, evidently an old one, pleased Wannaku greatly and he exclaimed with joy: "This is indeed an *aude* for Kande Yaka[1]." We did not tell him whence we had obtained them, but he seemed impressed that a white man should possess such a good Vedda *aude*.

Wannaku put on the *hangala* and salaamed to the *maesa*. and whilst the drum was beaten sang the invocation given in Chapter X, No. XXII, to Bilindi Yaka. He danced in front of the *maesa* facing east, slowly at first, but gradually he began to sway his body more rapidly and with greater vigour and soon became possessed by Bilindi Yaka. The shaman now picked up the large *aude* and, after dancing with it in his hands for a few seconds, flung it from him to the ground with disgust, exclaiming angrily: "This is not my arrow, this has been used by a Sinhalese." Someone handed him the small *aude* and he seemed satisfied and danced with this. Of course it was quite possible for Wannaku to have discovered the history of the *aude* from our servants or from the villagers, or it may even have been mentioned quite casually in conversation with them and not have made much impression on him at the time, but flashing into consciousness in the excitement of the dance it may have appeared an important and till then unknown fact. On questioning Wannaku after the dance he denied any previous knowledge but said quite simply that he was possessed

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[1] However, when the dance took place the next day he used this *aude* when invoking Bilindi Yaka.

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by Bilindi Yaka and "as a man knows his own betel pouch so Bilindi Yaka would know his own *aude*."

The shaman bent his head over the *kirikoraha* and inspected it, then putting his hand into it he scattered the milk on the ground two or three times, before filling his palm with milk and letting it fall over the *aude*, in this way testing the quality of the offering. With the arrow in one hand he stood in front of the *maesa* shaking and shouting. Now he took a betel leaf from the *kirikoraha*, fixed it on the point of the *aude* and as a sign of favour put this on an old Vedda's chest, asking at the same time why he had been invoked: "Is anyone sick?" The old man replied that no one was ill, they had merely called him to take the offerings on the *maesa*. So the *yaka* was pleased and with rapt expression the shaman danced, and again dripped milk over the *aude*, saying at the same time that he must go. He repeated this several times, all the while quivering and gasping and saying that now he would leave, but before finally departing the spirit again showed favour to the old Vedda, influencing the shaman to put a milky betel leaf on his chest; then the shaman leapt back suddenly and the *yaka* left him.

After a short interval the shaman danced again and soon became possessed by Kande Yaka, whom he called by the invocation No. XVII; soon he made signs that he wanted something, when the Veddas understood that he lacked a second *aude*, and not having another, one of the Veddas gave him a knife, which the shaman preferred to the rejected *aude*. He held the *aude* and the knife crosswise, these now representing the bow and arrow of Kande Yaka, and dancing wildly the shaman feigned to test the imaginary bow, then leaning both arms on the *maesa* he shivered and shook, at the same time declaring that the bow was a strong and good one. Again holding the arrow blade and knife like a bow and arrow he followed the track of an imaginary sambar for a few yards; he pointed to a spot on the ground and said the next *kirikoraha* should be built there. Then taking some milk from the *kirikoraha* he let some fall on the arrow and spilled some on the ground, and we were told that this represented Kande Wanniya

drinking after the kill. After a little more dancing the shaman 796
fell back into the arms of his supporter and the spirit left him. 555

The Kirikoraha at Unuwatura Bubula. When dancing 787
to Kande Yaka at Unuwatura Bubula the Veddas made a *bulatyahana* (Plate XXXV); this, we were told, would be built when invoking many *yaka*, but the *kirikoraha* would never be danced without it. The *bulatyahana* seemed to be an elaborated *maesa* with the framework carried up to form a back and slanting roof over which a cloth, specially kept for this purpose, was hung and fastened down. On the shelf of the *bulatyahana* two *aude* and a trident of the ordinary Hindu pattern were placed together with betel leaves and areca nut. The *kirikoraha* containing coconut milk and betel leaves stood on a rice-mortar beside it and a pot of cooked rice was put on the ground.

The shaman danced in front of the *bulatyahana* holding in his hands a new piece of cloth (a coloured handkerchief which we gave him) specially obtained for the purpose. He swayed his body and raised the cloth to his head while lifting his feet and patting the ground alternately with his right and left foot, but not moving from the front of the *bulatyahana*, that is to say confining his dancing to a space three or four feet long. He exchanged the handkerchief for the trident and placing a betel leaf on the point he danced with this and soon became possessed by Kande Yaka. Putting his hands into the *kirikoraha*, he examined the milk and expressed his satisfaction by shouting and clapping his hands. Again he danced to and fro in front of the *bulatyahana* with the trident in his hand. The *kirikoraha* was taken off the rice-mortar and put on the *bulatyahana*, and the pot of cooked rice was put in its place on the rice-mortar.

The dancer then approached a sick shaman who, as men- 755
tioned on p. 263, had coughed up a considerable amount of blood at the end of the *aiutyakagama* ceremony performed previously, and fed him with some rice which he brought to him in a betel leaf. In this way Kande Yaka showed his benevolence towards the sick man, for it was considered that the *yaka* food would cure him. Returning to the *bulatyahana* the shaman quivered and shook his head and examined the

796 535 787 rice, then he came to us and in the usual agitated manner of one possessed by the *yaku* said that he had come because we had asked for him. After some more dancing a little longer in front of the *bulatyakana* and after much bending and shaking over it and the rice pot the *yaka* of Kande Wanniya left the shaman and the ceremony ended.

NAE YAKU CEREMONIES.

769 535 The large part the *Nae Yaku* play in the life of the Veddas and the great deference paid to them have been treated in the chapters on religion. We witnessed two *Nae Yaku* ceremonies which took place at Sitala Wanniya and Bandaraduwa respectively. The Bandaraduwa ceremony was performed on the seventh day after the death of the individual whose spirit was invoked, and we were allowed to prepare a dancing ground in the jungle, where it seemed that a tolerably good series of photographs might be obtained. However, the Veddas were obviously apprehensive of the spirit of the deceased until the ceremony had taken place, and insisted on performing it early in the morning with the result that the photographs obtained were all underexposed. We have however thought it best to publish a number of these without retouching them, an exception being made in the case of the two photographs reproduced in Plates XXXVI, fig. 2, and XXXVIII, fig. 1, the value of which do not depend on the facial expression of the performers while they were so underexposed that all detail would have been lost in a reproduction.

The ceremony performed at Sitala Wanniya was danced expressly because we wished to see it, but Handuna, the most important man in this community, was delighted when we suggested that they should dance to the *Nae Yaku*, because he said it would please the *yaku*, for when alone the community could seldom provide such good things to offer them as we promised to give.

Nae Yaku Ceremony at Sitala Wanniya. Although the Sitala Wanniya Veddas told us that the *Nae Yaku* could not come without Kande Yaka, Kande Yaka was not invoked at

Plate XXXV

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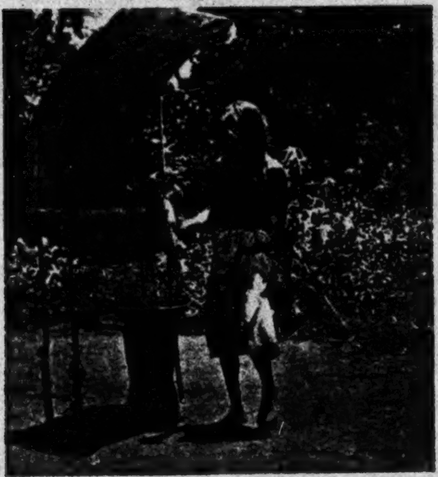

Fig. 1. Kirikoraha ceremony, the *bulatyahana* (Unuwatura Bubula)

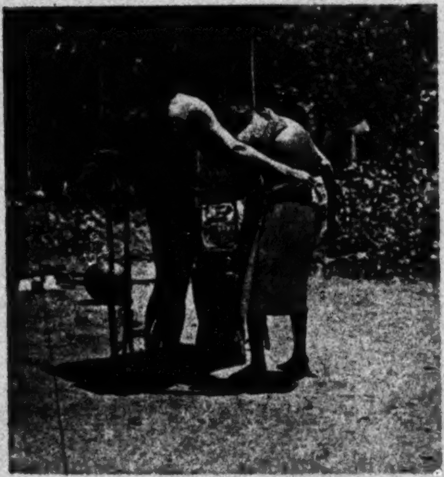

Fig. 2. Kirikoraha ceremony, the shaman before the *bulatyahana* (Unuwatura Bubula)

[facing p. 230]

Vela did so also, with the result that Kaira dropped his head 769
forward, shook violently and nodded his head sideways in
a clumsy drunken fashion, and in a few seconds, still supported; 535
jerked his limbs forwards and moved to the offering, after which he came back to where the women were standing and fell again into the arms of Vela. His chin was thrown back and his whole body trembled, while he gasped a word or two occasionally and fanned himself with his cloth vigorously. He held the cloth over the child suffering from yaws and promised to cure him, then putting both hands on Handuna he let his head fall on the latter's chest, and while trembling and shuffling his feet asked how Handuna fared. Handuna replied that game was scarce, and Kaira then spoke to the wife of Handuna and again to Handuna, and promised help. Then leaving Handuna he danced with wild leaping steps round the *kirikoraka* and gasped that now he must go and so leapt to the *maesa*, bent his head over the offering, and fell back exhausted. But he soon began to dance again, twirling the arrow blade between his fingers, till after a short time he returned to the *maesa*, and again bent his head over the offering; then with a great shout he took the pot of rice in both hands and spun it on the ground, and as he did so the *yaka* left him and he fell back.

Spinning the pot had the same significance here as at 769
Henebedda, the direction towards which the pot dipped showing 787
where game would be found. In this instance the pot was so full of rice that it did not dip at all, but this was considered a good omen as game might be expected on all sides.

After all was over Handuna took an arrow, and standing by 769
the *maesa* pointed the arrow to the pots, and called upon all the *Nae Yaku* to feed. The pots were soon removed, the rice they contained was eaten, and the betel leaves from the *kirikoraka* chewed, but the milk in the *kirikoraka* was poured over a heap of twigs laid on the ground, being thus devoted to the *yaku*.

Nae Yaku ceremony at Bandaraduwa. Some account 177
has already been given in Chapter II of the abnormal conditions 769
prevailing at Bandaraduwa, so it will only be necessary to touch lightly upon this subject here. Some twenty years back these Kovil Vanamai Veddas, of whom the Bandaraduwa Veddas

At the same time an invocation was sung, presumably to Kande Yaka and the *Nae Yaku*, but our notes are not quite clear about this; it was however certain that Kande Yaka, Bilindi Yaka and the *Nae Yaku* all came, indeed that the last was unable to come without Kande Yaka, but it was not clear when each *yaka* came and went, and it seemed quite possible for the shaman to be possessed by several *yaku* at once. 769 535 787

As the shaman danced he stabbed at the *kirikoraha* with both the *aude* (Plate XXXVI, fig. 2), in this way the *Nae Yaka* by whom he was possessed was pleased to show his power. Sometimes as Tissahami made the usual half turn on his heels he held the *aude* against his hips pointed end outwards. Soon he began to quiver and bend his head forward, and was immediately supported by one of the onlookers, into whose arms he fell back (Plate XXXVII, fig. 1). After lying still for a few seconds he revived and began to dance wildly, stabbing the *aude* in the air; this was in order to frighten people, for although the feeling of the *Nae Yaka* towards his living relatives was friendly, provided always that he had been well treated by them and had been offered sufficient rice, coconut milk and betel leaves, the *yaka* was not averse to showing his newly acquired power. After this, in order to show his favour to his relatives the shaman went to both the brothers of the dead man in turn and sprinkled them with coconut milk from the *kirikoraha* (Plate XXXVII, fig. 2), he put his arms on their shoulders and promised them luck in hunting, and taking two betel leaves from the *kirikoraha* he put one on the chest of each man, and the leaves being wet with the milk stayed where they were placed for a short time. Suddenly leaping away the shaman, now apparently possessed by Kande Yaka and probably with the spirit of the *Nae Yaka* still within him, tracked an imaginary sambar round the dancing ground, holding the two *aude* crosswise to represent a bow and arrow. This is shown in Plate XXXVIII, fig. 1, which also shows the betel leaves on the chest

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by the shaman who wanted to wear Sinhalese leggings with bells, although he said these had not been worn before in a Vedda ceremony. The leglets, which he greatly admired, had been worn by a peasant Sinhalese at a devil ceremony which had been held two days before at a village a few miles distant. [177]

769
535
787

of each of the two brothers of the deceased. The shaman made no feint to shoot but soon put the *aude* on the *kirikoraha*, and taking a pot of rice which had been prepared twirled it vigorously in his hands, and though this may have represented Kande Wanniya spinning the rice pot for prophecy, the shaman put the pot down without actually spinning it. Supported by one of the Veddas he again danced round the *kirikoraha* and swayed his body violently; at times he would spring suddenly to one side stabbing fiercely at the air, after which (bending over the *kirikoraha*) he fell back and remained perfectly still with rapt expression and head slightly bent, one hand resting on the edge of the milk pot. It seemed as though the Yaka was about to leave the shaman, but as the relatives did not desire this (perhaps because the Yaka had not yet fed them as a sign of greater favour) they all sang the invocation together. The Yaka heard them, for suddenly the shaman began to tremble, the trembling grew to a vigorous shaking, and he sprang forward and again bent his head over the *kirikoraha*; then with body bent and head drooping he moved a little way, taking short leaping steps, and again fell back exhausted. But he soon revived and took the *aude* and approached the dead man's brothers in turn, who both became possessed by the *Nae Yaka* and fell back. Then the shaman smeared their bodies with coconut milk, throwing some into their mouths, and they soon showed signs of life again. Plate XXXVIII, fig. 2, and Plate XXXIX, fig. 1, show the two brothers of the deceased possessed by the *Nae Yaka*; in the latter figure the body of the unconscious man has been smeared with the contents of the *kirikoraha*, while the remains of that with which he had been fed hangs about his mouth and chin. It will be observed that in both these figures the supporters are Sinhalese; this was because there were not enough grown Vedda men in the community to support the men possessed by Yaku. All this time the invocation was being repeated by one of the youngest Veddas present, who we were told was the dead man's sister's son, that is the dead man's potential son-in-law. The shaman now fed the dead man's brothers with rice from the offering, and then fell exhausted to the ground. One of the onlookers immediately came

1:Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
AX5 Vedda AX5

Plate XXXIX

769
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787

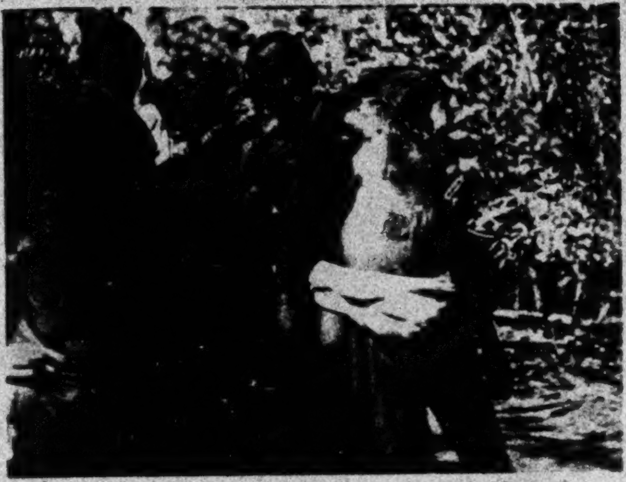

Fig. 1. Nae Yaku ceremony, the other brother of the deceased is also possessed (Bandaraduwa)

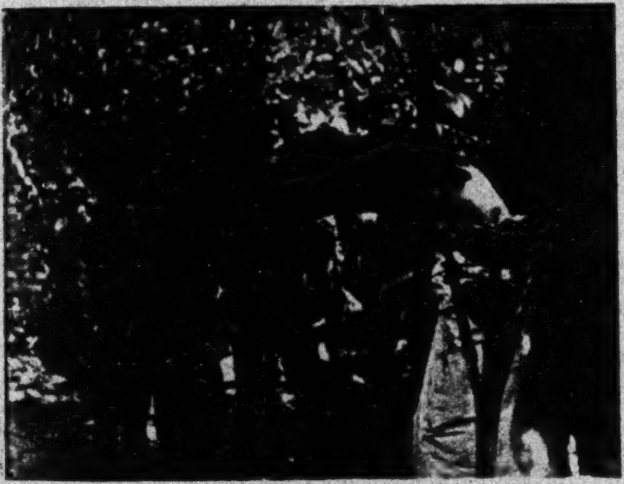

Fig. 2. Nae Yaku ceremony, the shaman possessed by the Nae Yaka embraces the brothers of the deceased (Bandaraduwa)

[facing p. 236 a]

Plate XL

769
535
787

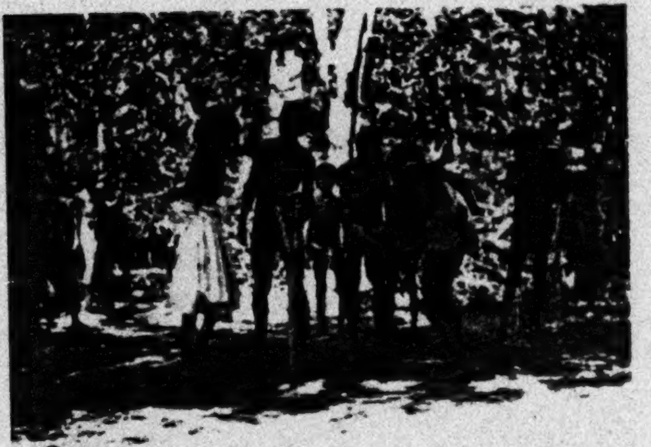

Fig. 1. Nae Yaku ceremony, the Nae Yaka shows his power (Bandaraduwa)

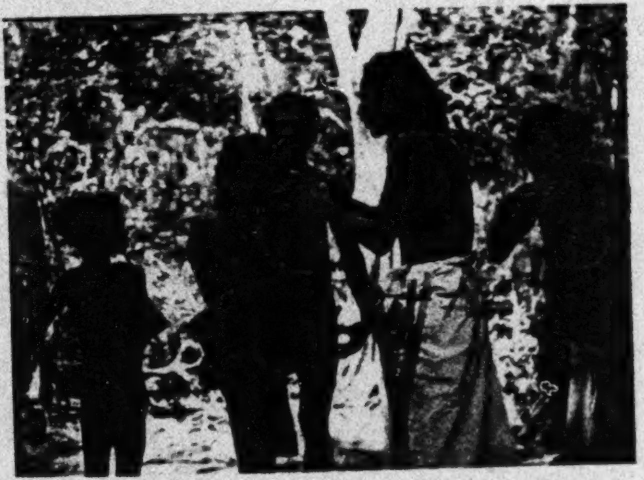

Fig. 2. Nae Yaku ceremony, the shaman feeds the members of the community (Bandaraduwa)

[facing p. 236b]

to his assistance when he began to quiver and sway, then 769
moved and put both arms round one of the dead man's brothers 535
as a sign of kindness from the deceased. (Plate XXXIX, 787
fig. 2.) The brothers said: "It was good of you to come. See we have given you food, now do not come back again," and the *yaka* agreed. The shaman then took the *aude* and transfixed a betel leaf with each and danced and again showed favour to the relatives by giving them each another betel leaf, after which one of the relatives danced, but the shaman threatened to stab with the *aude* the men who were not relatives of the dead man. (Plate XL, fig. 1.) Soon both the shaman and the two brothers fell back and the Yaka departed from them. When the shaman revived, he bent his head over the *kirikoraha* as a sign of respect; then holding both hands over the rice pot he repeated a silent charm, asking any of the other *yaku* who might have come to the ceremony to depart peacefully. After this he fed each relative of the dead man, holding the *kirikoraha* to their mouths, as is shown in Plate XL, fig. 2.

THE INVOCATION OF BAMBURA YAKA.

The Veddas invoke Bambura Yaka for help in getting pig 776
nd yams, both staple foods, the latter being an extremely im- 535
portant element in their diet. The dance is pantomimic, and 773
depicts a boar hunt in which Bambura, the boar-hunting hero, 796
was aided by a Vedda woman, who killed the pig with an arrow she shot from her husband's bow and whose spirit is therefore called Dunne Yakini (Bow Spirit), while the spirit of this woman's husband who turned the boar with his yam stick (*ule*) has become Ule Yaka, that is (Yam-stick Spirit). This ceremony, though not so widely spread, is as dramatic as that in which Kande Yaka stalks and kills sambar deer. We saw it danced by Kaira of Sitala Wanniya and by Wannaku of Uniche.

The invocation of Bambura Yaka at Sitala Wanniya. 776
The dance at Sitala Wanniya will be described first, since the 773
story was told us here in its more complete form. Once long 796
go many Vedda men and women went out in search of yams,

nd black pigment. It closely resembled that used in the ambura Yaka ceremony at Uniche. 535 796

(vii) The *tadiya* is well seen in Plate XLI, fig. 1. It is short stout stick, and represents a carrying stick or *pingo* which s used throughout Ceylon; however, it was quite unlike one, s these are long and springy and resemble a bow; moreover, eddas usually unstring their bows and use them as carrying ticks.

(viii) The *nimiti* or book (explained as book of omens, nd said to be borrowed from Sinhalese ceremonies) was made f a couple of broad strips of bark in imitation of the *ola* books sed in Ceylon[1]. [787] [177]

The *haelapeta* and *ran kaduwa* were said to belong to evatayo of those names, but nothing was known about them. evatayo or Dewa are Sinhalese spirits distinct from the *yaku* ccording to Sinhalese beliefs, but Handuna, our best informant t Sitala Wanniya, said Devatayo were the same as *yaku*. bviously they had been introduced and assimilated to the edda *yaku*.

After all the sticks had been painted some cooked yams ere tied up in leaves and bound to one end of the *tadiya*, and ome wisps of grass were tied to the other to represent monitor izards (Plate XLI, fig. 1), the whole was then put on the lower tage of the *maessa* with cooked yams for all the *yaku*, while portion of yams was placed on the upper stage for Koriminaala aka, but no reason could be discovered why his food was kept part from the rest. The dance began by Handuna singing an nvocation (No. XXIX) to Mulpola Itiya Yaka, and Kaira, who wore a *kangala*, held the *mulpola itiya* in his right hand, letting the decorated end rest in his left, then he danced slowly round and round in front of the *maessa* facing east, the direction whence the boar of the story came. The *mulpola itiya* was soon changed for the *ran kaduwa*, and now Kaira made long leaping steps, widening his circle as he moved in front of the *maessa* and

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[1] The *nimiti* omen or book is perhaps the most curious of all the properties. t was said that Bambura Yaka could read and write, and that he was the only Yaka o had these accomplishments, though nothing was known as to how he had learned em. But certainly this part of the ritual was old and must be the result of quite ncient contact with a Buddhistic people.

843 wilder till after a final leap between the posts Nila fell supine
with outstretched arms, and was immediately supported by one
796 of the onlookers. The *yaka* of the high post now possessed Nila
535 who, after a few minutes' immobility, began to shiver and gasp,
then springing forward he danced to the posts with shuffling
feet and head bent forward, and examined each one in turn.
This he did by dropping his head on them so that his face was
partly buried in the bast, his supporter always close behind him
(Plate XLV, fig. 2). We were told that Nila was now possessed
by all three *yaku*, who appear to have entered him as he bent
over the posts. The exact moment of the entry and exit of the
yaku into the person of the shaman was often very ill-defined,
although in this instance, and indeed in most cases when
more than one *yaka* was present at a dance, it was clear when
the first *yaka* arrived, it seemed that the other *yaku* entered
the shaman without giving any immediate sign of their presence.

The *yaku* speaking through Nila signified that they were
pleased with the posts built for their reception. Then Nila
picked up the *wila* and shouting, apparently with approval, held
it up by each end and whirled the handle round making the
bast strands fly out, then he approached Mari and waved it over
[787] her head and rested it there, so that her head was buried in the
bast for several seconds while Nila predicted a male child
(Plate XLVI, fig. 1)[1]. Nila then danced to Handuna and
waved the *wila* over him. No particular reason was given for
[554] this, Handuna being no relation to the woman, but he was the
most important old man in the community.

After covering Handuna with the *wila*, Nila danced wildly, always with the rapt expression of a man possessed by a *yaka*, showing his pleasure by holding the *wila* aloft and whirling it round and round. Then Nila put down the *wila* and took the *amanada* and dancing with it in his hand he approached Mari stretching it out towards her, but he only stayed a few seconds and passed on to Handuna and falling on the latter's chest spoke and again foretold the birth of a male child to Mari.

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[1] The sex of the child is determined by the position assumed by the strips of bast as they fall over the woman's head. If most fall over the woman's face the child will be a girl, if over the occiput a boy.

Plate XLVI

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[787]

Fig. 1. Pata Yaku ceremony, the shaman predicts the sex of the child (Sitala Wanniya)*

Fig. 2. Pata Yaku ceremony, Nila prays for his daughter's safe delivery (Sitala Wanniya)*

[facing p. 250 b]

as a smoker; the other was "just an arrow" and did not appear 796
to fulfil any specific purpose. Small leafy twigs from the surrounding 778
trees were placed on the ground round the arrows, and on these a number of betel leaves and areca nuts were placed as an offering, the twigs being a device for preventing the offering to the *yaku* from touching the ground.

All the adult men of the community decided to take part in 796
this dance, as only those who become possessed by Dola Yaka
would derive benefit from the ceremony, that is, obtain special 535
favour and help from him in gathering honey. In order to 787
provide a supporter for each man, the dance was performed in two parts, Nila, Kaira and Pema taking part in the first performance. The ceremony began by these men walking several times round the arrows singing an invocation (No. XXXI) as they moved clockwise and occasionally salaamed to the arrows. Soon they began to dance and at times passed their hands, palms downwards, over the top of the arrows. This was the old custom; the reason for it was not known. After a little while Nila fell and was supported, soon all three dancers became possessed and bending forward shook their heads over the arrows. Then Nila taking the lead, they all moved to one end of the dancing ground, where they assumed the strained attitude of men listening attentively for the distant hum of bees, with body bent forward, one hand to the ear and the other raised as if to impose silence on their companions. Suddenly they all leapt back to the arrows and danced round them wildly, and shook their heads low over them; again they listened for the bees and beat their chests with joy, crying, "We hear many bees, there will be plenty of honey."

Returning to the arrows they danced round them again, at 796
times falling back into the arms of their supporters, and again 535
springing forward to dance. Nila gave each of us a betel leaf as a sign of favour from Dola Yaka, and then spoke in a gasping voice to Handuna who answered him. All beat their bodies with both hands, driving away imaginary bees. Again they listened for the bees, and this time picked up some leafy twigs and pretending they were alight shook them beneath the *maesa*, which now represented a comb, but they soon sprang back and

Plate XLVIII

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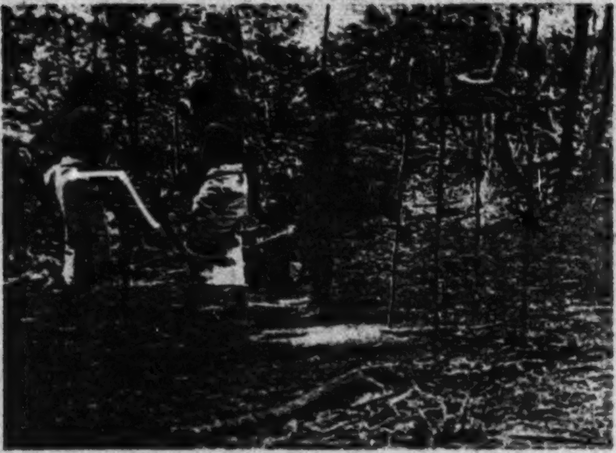

Fig. 1. Rahu Yaka ceremony, the beginning of the dance (Sitala Wanniya)*

● [787]

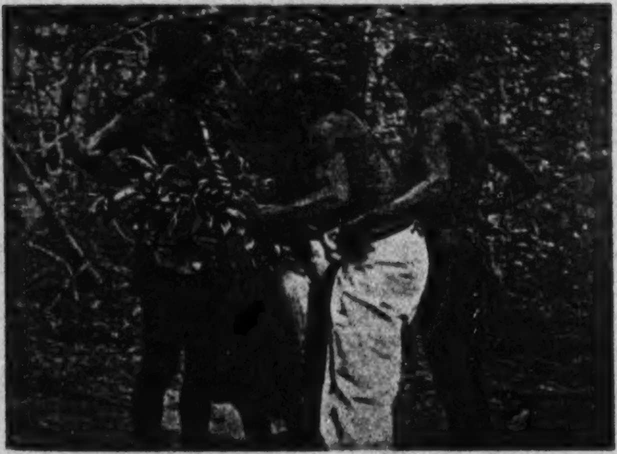

Fig. 2. Rahu Yaka ceremony, the shaman prophesies good luck in hunting and honey gathering (Sitala Wanniya)*

[facing p. 258]

796 535 786 Yakini, who live on a hill called Milalanegala. This Vedda danced in very much the same way as Wannaku had danced, and the few differences noted, such as his less energetic steps, were doubtless due to personal idiosyncrasy. However, he did not bury his head in the leaves tied to the central post on becoming possessed, but shook the leaves which he held in his right hand in his own face, having previously struck these against those pendant from the *ruwala*. After dancing for a short time he staggered up to Wannaku and spoke, the spirits possessing him asking why they were called and whether there was sickness amongst the people. To this Wannaku answered "No," telling the spirits that he had called them at the request of the white man who wished to know them. After this the celebrant again danced in and out of and round the *ruwala*, striking at the pendant leaves. Soon he buried his head in the leaves tied to the central post, his whole body quivering, then he quickly jumped away from the pole and made his way to the Ratemahatmaya of the district, who was an onlooker, and shook the leaves in his right hand against the latter's chest, telling him he would be successful in the business he was about to undertake. This was in answer to a question that the Ratemahatmaya had shouted a short time previously. There was more dancing round the central pole, the performer striking it with the leaves which he held in his hand; after a few minutes he approached Wannaku, and striking him with the leaves said something, and again danced round the central pole which he seized in his hand and shook four times, once facing each of the cardinal points of the compass, shouting loudly as he did so. This was the means adopted by the *yaku* to test the solidity of the structure. [755 787] We were told that this dance was generally performed in order to cure sickness, and if the pole fell or the structure came to pieces the patient for whose benefit it took place would die or others would become ill. At last with many quiverings and clutchings at the central post the *yaku* took their departure.

796 535 A similar dance lasting a shorter time, during which the dancer was possessed by Moranegala Yaka, then took place, after which Wannaku, who appeared to have quite recovered

[facing p. 290]

Nila holding bow while reciting invocation No. XXIII. Whe
Illness is spoken the bow swings to

1:Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
AX5 Vedda AX5

782
411
516
142
787

Plate LV

be name of the *yaka* causing the

535 796 shows the site selected for the dance and the arrangements made. The dancing ground consisted of one of those sandy spaces surrounded by a growth of scrub and low trees which are so common on the east coast. A *kudaram*, the upper part of which was covered with leaves, had been prepared, the top of this was depressed so as to present a sort of tray upon which a white cloth was laid; within the tray were laid flowers, which in this case did duty for the food offered in the ceremony. No model of a ship was hoisted to the top of the pole, which was encircled by wreaths of small leafy bunches at heights of about 6 to 12 feet from the ground.

There were five dancers, each of whom held a bunch of leafy twigs in each hand, which when the dance began were held against the body just below the umbilicus.

535 796 787 The leader of the dance was an old man who held a piece of cloth instead of a bunch of leaves. Behind each dancer stood a man who supported him by clapping his hands round the dancer's body below the latter's hands, i.e. over the hypogastric and epipubic region. At first the dancers faced the *kudaram*, their hands being held low against their thighs, but soon they began to move round the altar in single file (Plate LXX, fig. 2). As they danced they began to quiver, the rippling motion of their muscles from the knees upwards becoming progressively more violent, until as the dancers moved round the altar the majority of their superficial muscles all over the body were twitching irregularly. As the dance became quicker the dancers feigned exhaustion, leaning or falling back into the arms of their supporters, but this did not last long and dancing was not interrupted; soon the men left the altar and danced round the pole, the irregular quivering of their muscles being very striking. At times they shouted and raised the bunches of leaves which they held in their hands above their heads. They continued to dance round the altar and round the pole alternately; as they danced round the pole their movements became more violent, the men supporting the dancers let go and the latter now danced and leapt round the pole and beat the leaves tied to it with the leaves they held in their hands. As the vigour of their movements lessened, their supporters, who had been following their

motions, once more put their arms round them, soon after which 535
the dancers fell limply into their arms. The leader of the dance 796
seemed especially excited at this stage and, trembling and 787
quivering all over, stood back to the pole and wildly waved his scarf in the air. Soon his movements became less vigorous, his head nodded on his shoulders and hung down on his chest as he addressed the other dancers in a harsh and broken voice (Plate LXXI). In view of the Vedda ceremonies which we subsequently saw we have no doubt that he prophesied good fortune. It appeared to us that this old man really presented the ordinary characteristics of Vedda "possession," i.e. the dance, though only a rehearsal, had produced the customary effects associated with it, and certainly this old man's muscles continued to quiver irregularly for some time after the dance was over. As for the remaining dancers we have no doubt that the dance remained for them as it had begun, simply a rehearsal and an amusing piece of acting.

Such dances are held only to cure sickness or in return for 535
good crops, and it was emphatically denied that anything similar 796
took place after childbirth or death.

Very little was elicited concerning death and mourning cere- 764
monies. The corpse is washed, and it seemed that although this is usually done by a barber or *dhobie* (professional washerman) it might be done by one or more of the relatives of the dead man. The grave must be at some distance from the habitations of the living and also from their cultivation patches. No fire is lit on the grave. A feast is held a few days after burial, which appears to be called *bati bane*, and the food for this, especially rice, is provided by the near relatives of the dead man and distributed. A *kudaram* is built upon which the food is placed for "a short time" as an offering to Kapalpei, after which it is eaten by the assembled people.

This account agrees with that given by the Sarasins, who 769
record that a coast Vedda, Pereman, when asked about his religion 177
"laughed and said they had that of the Tamils, they honoured their dead by cooking rice in front of their house, folding their hands, saying a few words and then eating the rice. As they did this they spoke the name of the deceased and said: 'Help

123 796 guidance I touched the flowers in acknowledgement. After this the rice which had meanwhile been cooked in the enclosure in front of the shrine was offered to the goddess at the shrine, and the enclosure itself was removed.

The offering of the rice appeared to mark the conclusion of the first stage of the ceremony, for it was followed by a procession of those who were to take part in the subsequent dancing,—apparently accompanied by the image of the goddess,—out of the clearing and, as I was informed, down to the river about half a mile away for the sacred bath.

Time dragged by. The moonlight flooded the clearing, showing the ranks of the spectators sitting in their places with oriental patience and talking in undertones. At last the procession of dancers re-entered the clearing and advanced to the open space in front of the shrine. Here a ritual was gone through which seemed to be intended to induce in the dancers a state of "possession,"[7] and after the performance of this ritual the dances began.

First of all two principal dancers, wearing what were evidently ceremonial jackets of red cloth, took, each of them, in one hand one of the wooden swords previously mentioned and in the other [535] a bunch of leaves, and went in and out among the people with a queer shuffling step and a curious rhythmic brandishing of the swords and leaves. Once or twice the leader stopped, and laying his sword upon the head of some person in the crowd began to [787] prophesy.[8] One prophecy, as interpreted to me by the Chief Headman, concerned the outbreak of cholera, and was in the form

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[7] The Seligmanns, on pp. 134-5 of *The Veddas*, discuss at some length the nature of "possession" in the Vedda ritual dances.

[114 197] [8] My impression at the time was that in uttering these prophecies the leader of the dance used the Vedda language. Certainly the language used did not appear to me to be either Sinhalese or Tamil. It is true that the Seligmanns say, in the passage quoted in the text, that the "old Vedda language" as spoken by the coast Veddas was found to be Sinhalese; but (i) it seems at least possible that the Vedda language may remain to some extent in ritual use among them; and (ii) I am inclined to think that in the ceremony here described the invocation of Rahu Yaka, described by the Seligmanns on pp. 254-9 of *The Veddas*, was combined with the worship of Ammal and Kapalpe, described by

of an exhortation to the villagers not to be afraid, as no harm would come to them. It need hardly be said that such a prophecy was extremely *à propos* from my point of view. I began to think that perhaps the Chief Headman was right and the time spent upon the ceremony was not wholly wasted. 123 796 [787]

The two principal dancers at length finished their dance and returned to their station near the shrine; and in their place ten or a dozen people, with a very old man as *choregos*, danced a similar dance, threading their way among the ranks of the people in single file. From time to time they would suddenly break off their dance, and rushing back tumultuously to the open space about the "maypole" would beat upon the pole with the bunches of leaves which each of them held in either hand, crying "*Wach! wach! wach!*" The Chief Headman, himself a Hindu, gave me the following interesting interpretation of the symbolism of this dance:—"The pole represents Brahma, the Source of Life, and the dancers wandering about among the people represent human life, at the end of which the soul returns to its Creator for a while with glad cries."

Later this dance was again danced by the same persons, led by the two red-jacketed principal dancers. Then the announcement was made that the goddess was coming from the river, and the two principal dancers began a very solemn, ecstatic dance under a canopy. As they danced the excitement grew tenser and tenser and their motions became more and more convulsive. They were firmly held by those near them,—a precaution necessary, the Chief Headman assured me, to prevent them from running amok among the spectators,—and seemed to struggle to shake off the restraint thus put upon them. Gradually, however, their efforts slackened, and they finally sank unconscious upon the ground.* 123 796 152 535 786

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them on pp. 335-9, and that the "principal dancers" mentioned were not coast Veddas, but were brought in from outside. The point is one of some interest; but as, unfortunately, I did not go into it at the time, I do not feel at all certain about it. [114 197]

* The Seligmanns say on p. 134 of *The Veddas*, "Most sincere practitioners whom we interrogated in different localities agreed that . . . they never entirely lost consciousness." After the dance here described the

own departed; spirits, real and intimate, inhabiting like themselves 776 rock and tree and stream; human enough to pester or assist, to take vengeance if angered, and, if propitiated, tutelary over the Vedda's abodes. It is owing to the maliciousness of these spirits, and less from any fear of wild animals, that the Vedda is averse to travelling alone in the jungle; though, when necessity compels, he will do so, armed only with his little axe. Nor do they permit their women to adorn themselves too much for fear of attracting the *hetha* (devil).*

When a person dies it is the *hetha* that killed him; and the *hetha* of 761 the dead one remains by the corpse and haunts the vicinity for years. Hence the great fear these people have of their dead; a fear that sometimes makes them cover with leaves and abandon a dying person, be he or she their best beloved, lest their necks be squeezed; a fear that [768] keeps them away for years from caves where deaths have occurred.

In the course of time the spirit of a dead person loses its individuality in a general spirit world, the spirits of the more recently dead, and therefore the better known to succeeding generations, supplanting the older. A belief embodying the beautiful thought, that we really do not die until those who knew us and loved us are also dead.

The Vedda religion then is a cult of the spirits of the dead; not so 769 much an ancestor worship, though a few names of long dead Veddas, such as Bilinde Yakka and Kande Yakka have a place in it, as a homage 771 to spirits recently deceased (*Nas-Yakka*).†

The named demons of the pure Veddas are few, and their propitiatory 776 ceremonies but two or three. Nevertheless, a half-Vedda devil-dancer of 796 Galmede gave me the names of a hundred devils, and unctuously expounded a demonology as involved as it was terrible; taking special delight in describing a dance in which men with hideous masks and jangling bells attached to deer-skin greaves, their bodies stained in imitation of blood, swayed great Vedda *axes* mounted on carved handles, and made the forest echo to thundering drum-beats and demoniac yells.

Of male demons there were :—(1) Tree demons of the *Na* and *Bo* tree; 776 seven to each tree in order of precedence: (2) Rock demons (*Gal-vanniyas*) named after various hills: (3) Flower demons (*Ravathath*): (4) *Bandara* demons; (5) *Vanniyas*—the spirits of four Veddas who were crushed to death in a cave by the fall of the rock overhead; with a shout of "ha" they were transformed into devils. Then there were innumerable female demons, a wife to each male demon (*Kalusalees*, *Peti-hanayas* and *Hanna-hanayas*).

From all this it will not be wondered at that the Veddas are highly 787 superstitious, and ascribe to many an ordinary incident of life supernatural significance. It is, for instance, an ill omen to meet a Buddhist priest or Moorman when setting out on a journey, or to knock the big toe against a stone or stump. Should a gekko cry when a plan is under discussion, or a blood-sucker‡ or Brahamin lizard fall on one, the portent is bad.

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*The Veddas seem to make no distinction between the words devil and spirit, [196] the term *yakka* being used for either; thus *Gal-Yakka* means rock-demon, *Nas-Yakka* ancestral spirit. *Hetha* also means spirit or devil and is, if anything, the more malevolent being. *Vanniya* is another word synonymous with *yakka* and *hetha*.

†The Veddas, by Seligmann; page 30.

‡A species of lizard.

787 To ignore such warnings would be to court failure or even disaster. When a *kotaha* (large gekko) quaintly cries " krok, krok," a Vedda will seriously lean towards it and ask, " Shall we shoot a monkey to-morrow ? " " Krok," says the *kotaha*, and the questioner's face falls, for here no answer is good news. Then there is that subtle thing the *kilis*, an evil 778 influence possessed by certain kinds of meat when eaten under circum- 262 stances too involved to explain. The flesh of pigs, peafowl, langurs and a species of fish (*urang*, *monerang*, *wandoorang*, *magurang*) are said to have this property ; but here it would seem that the rhyming of the names has something to do with their evil association.

776 There is an interesting little spirit, belief in which (as with many of the other superstitions already mentioned) is as universal among the Sinhalese as the Veddas. *Bothili*, *Vilivany*, or *Kunnu-yakkini** (dirty she-devil) is its name. It is said to have a nasty nack of grasping one's leg in the dark, and so making it wither to the thinness of an *illuk*-blade. The incarnation of a woman who died in child-birth it is thought to be, and comes moaning at night in the form of a light. The story is best told in the words of a solemnly sworn eye-witness :—Kalu Banda (the narrator) and his sister Balahamy were occupying a watch-hut in a *kurrukkan* field one dark night when they heard a moaning as of one in pain—"*andoa, andoa, oo oo oo.*" Kalu Banda, suspecting what it was, told his sister not to speak—for the *villivany* is shy of women and vanishes at the sound of their voice. He then charmed a little oil, and placing it some distance away, called out, " If you have a stomach-ache, come, rub some oil, and go away." A shadow appeared at which Kalu Banda [825] fired. On going to the spot, what should he find but a green blood-sucker,λ with a red head ! This is said to be the invariable discovery when the *bodili* is killed. The same is said of the devil bird ; but here apparently the rule has exceptions ; for I have met several people who shot at devil birds, and had a bird to show.

825 The identity of the devil-bird—*ulama* or *ulalena*——is still a matter of doubt ; and it is a pity that those who have had the rare fortune to shoot this bird have not thought it worth their while to send it up for identification. Much of the mystery surrounding it is due to the fact that it cries only at night and has wide and sporadic circuits. That it has some sort of a crest, I think, there can be no doubt ; also that it is a large bird mottled in its breast feathers like a jungle-hen. These particulars all my reliable informants (who shot the bird as it cried at night) have independently confirmed. It is supposed to be the brown wood owl (*Surnium indrani*) by some, the *Huhua nepalensis* by others. The theory that different birds are capable of uttering the devil-bird's cry, is, I think, quite untenable. Its note is too invariable and distinctive for that.

825 787 The cry of the *ulama*, like that of the owl (*bakumuna*) and *hanga*, is said to be a portent, varying according to its direction. Should it come from the west, it forbodes rain ; from the east, good luck ; from the north, the visit of a relative or friend ; from the south, a death. One of these birds hovered about our camp one night uttering its blood-curdling calls, now from this direction, now from that, baffling the ingenuity of 825 its interpreters ! Its " hoo-oo " is most eerily human ; but it has an even worse note, a gurgling chuckle, strongly suggestive of a person

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*This is perhaps none other than the Ceylon loris.

λ[a species of lizard.—Analyst]

attributed to Sinhalese influence, especially the substitution of the mortar 177
for the tripod, the drum for the slapping of hands and thighs, and the 535
introduction of the coconut scraper and betel leaves.

The *kirikoraha* (milk-chatty)* dance has for its object the co-operation 535
of certain ancestral spirits (*Nae Yakku*) in hunting enterprises. The
occasion for it is a period of repeated ill luck, which is attributed to the 796
disfavour of these spirits, whose names are, *Kande Yakka*, the great
hunter, his brother *Bilinde Yakka* and their wives *Kudu Hora* (nest thief) [776]
and *Pol Hora* (coconut thief) respectively; also *Hath-kudu Hora* (seven-nests thief), elder brother of the two she demons. Significant signs in [787]
the ceremony are the fine bubbles that form when the coconut milk is handled, and the manner in which the coconut divides; if the halves are equal the omen is good, in unequal, bad.

In a clearing was placed a mortar and on it a bowl containing a coconut
with two arrows laid across the brim. Kaurala, the dancer, took care [262]
to eat no meat that morning. Having smeared his head with lime-juice and his body with saffron, he would have worn a white cloth borrowed for the purpose, had we not dissuaded him from covering his picturesque nudity, much to the disapproval of the other Veddas who feared the anger of the spirits invoked.

The dance began quietly enough. Taking up the coconut and an arrow, the performer clasped them together in his hands which he placed now on the shoulder, now on the head, now well before him, as he walked round the mortar chanting a supplication to *Kande Yakka*. Soon he began hopping alternately on each heel, making half-turns with the body so characteristic of Vedda dances, and sweeping his arms semi-circularly. Gradually the monotonous song loudened to the drum-beats, and more and more vigorous became the contortions of the dancer, whose shaggy hair covered his face and whose body streamed with sweat. So he danced for perhaps a half hour, when suddenly he became as one possessed. *Kande Yakka* had "covered" him. Shouting the fearful name he staggered to the mortar and, bending over the bowl, split the coconut in halves. He stood by panting, while the coconut was scraped, the milk prepared, and seven betel leaves were arranged around the sides of the bowl, which was then replaced on the mortar with a single arrow across it. The other arrow, with a betel leaf transfixed in its point, was now in the hands of the dancer who holding it at both ends resumed his movements. *Bilinde Yakka*, the spirit next invoked, soon possessed him. The dance was then continued to each of the other spirits, male and female, in turn. By each of these he was successively possessed. With each possession the strange, wild-eyed figure before us, apparently oblivious of his surroundings, shouted the name of the mastering demon,† and threw lifeless hands on the shoulders of one or other of the onlookers as if for support. Eventually, when the frenzy was at its height, he had just breath enough to gasp out the inspired message that the spirits were propitious and success was assured‡. With his forearm he indicated the length of the quarry's horns and, pointing to the heavens, the favourable time for starting. Then, taking up the two arrows and the bowl containing the two halves of the coconut, the milk and the betel leaves, he danced

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*Coconut milk is the juice obtained by squeezing out with water the scraped kernel of the coconut.

†*Pana hiyenawa.*

‡*Hoey galgemura magalak alla thenawa.*

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789 **MAGIC**--practices reflecting confidence in the ability to manipulate supernatural forces; magical techniques of weather control (e.g., rain making); magical rites for increasing the food supply; exorcistic practices (e.g., driving off evil spirits with noise); potent formulae, incantations, and spells; curses; miracles; prevalent types of magic (e.g., imitative, contagious); concept of magical force; functions and social significance of magic; nonsupernatural magic (e.g., wonder-working, jugglery, legerdemain, fire-walking); etc. See also:

Magical rites in the food quest	22	Magic rites at funerals	764
Magic rites in agriculture	24	Luck magic	777
Magic rites in the reproductive cycle	84	Concept of mana	778
Magic as entertainment	545	Prevalence of nonlogical reasoning	811
Magic rites in warfare	726	Relation of magic to science	813
Sorcery, witchcraft, and evil eye	754	Love magic	832
Therapeutic magic	751, 755		

CHAPTER VIII

MAGIC

789 In the chapters upon religion we have described those ceremonies and observances of the Veddas which depend for their efficacy upon the successful appeal to some extra-human personal influence. In this section we shall discuss a number of actions which we consider magical, that is, actions which are expected to produce the required result automatically by virtue of their own intrinsic qualities.

One of the first things we noted during our stay in the Vedda country was the very slight part which magic played in the life of the Veddas. The more we saw of the people the more convinced we became of this. It seems to us that among the uncontaminated Veddas of two or three generations ago magical practices were almost entirely absent, and even at the present day the few remaining Veddas who have not been much exposed to foreign influence have scarcely any customs that are truly magical.

789 266 We include in this chapter the custom which formerly existed of eating a small piece of human liver in times of great stress, for even if this custom be not considered magical in the strict sense, it is clearly based on principles which lie at the root of many magical beliefs.

789 Since it is important to make thoroughly clear the absence of many forms of magic, we shall consider the condition of the different communities with regard to some of the most commonly occurring forms.

MAGIC DIRECTED AGAINST THE INDIVIDUAL.

754 This is completely absent except among the village Veddas, which is all the more surprising in view of the extraordinary

The words used in speaking of the bear are of

825 789 interest from this standpoint. We believe that in most Vedda communities *walaha* the ordinary word for bear is seldom or never used[1], certainly this was the case at Sitala Wanniya where the word ordinarily used for bear was *keria*. This word was not considered a dangerous word to use when all bears were at a distance, but when there was any possibility of coming in contact with a bear the animal was spoken of as *katera*, the meaning of this word being "enemy" or "adversary." On one occasion when with Handuna of Sitala Wanniya we came to a hill covered with irregularly weathered rocks and known to be the haunt of bears, Handuna shouted *katera yanda* ("enemy begone") before taking an abrupt turn in the track which here skirted a mass of rock. He repeated this sentence two or three times in a loud voice and assured us that we could now proceed without running the least risk of meeting a bear, and he himself led us round the rock with every appearance of careless ease, explaining that even if bears were about they would have heard what he had said and would have moved away. Two of the Henebedda Veddas exhibited the same appearance of carelessness when guiding us to a rock-shelter which though sometimes used by Veddas had not been tenanted for some time and bore obvious signs of being the lair of a bear. Sita Wanniya, our guide, explained his attitude by his belief in the power of the charms with which he was confident he could put any bear to flight.

These charms were recited in a loud voice, in fact the last words were almost shrieked and would doubtless have turned any bear, for it is a well known fact that the Sinhalese bear fears man and only attacks when surprised or cornered. This is shown by the circumstances in which the majority of accidents with bears occur. A man coming silently along a narrow jungle track suddenly meets a bear, or disturbs one grubbing behind a white ant heap. It is then that the bear, as much frightened as the man, charges inflicting severe though seldom fatal injuries.

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[1] We met with one obvious exception to this rule, the Henebedda youths Sita Wanniya and Poromala used the word *walaha* quite freely even in the jungle, and old Poromala, half of whose face was torn away by a bear some years ago, has been nicknamed Walaha, the Bear. This name was, however, given him by the Sinhalese.

Bailey's remarks on these charms, which unfortunately he does 825
not quote, are extremely pertinent. "I shall never forget the 789
first time one of these Vedda charms was recited for my edification. It was midnight; I was in the heart of a dense and gloomy forest, twenty miles from any habitation.... I was chatting to an intelligent Vedda at my side and then learnt for the first time, that they had charms....I begged him to recite one—and, in an instant, the forest re-echoed with such unearthly yells, that I felt he would be a bold bear indeed, whose heart did not die within him, and whose legs did not carry him far out of hearing of the repeated and discordant 'behegang! wirooowee! wiroowah!' which formed the burden of the charm. Of its perfect efficacy, my friend had no doubt; nor indeed had I, but he was rather huffed when I suggested that the mere noise may have had something to do with its success[1]."

A youth, Kaira of Bingoda, wore a number of bone beads on his waist string. He refused to sell these or exchange them for other beads or cloth, and though obviously not desirous of discussing them, stated that he had made them by grinding down the bones of a bear which he had found in the jungle. Although the remains of animals are not commonly found we did ourselves find the remains of one bear which we identified with certainty by the skull which was tolerably well preserved. The wearing of these beads as a matter of personal feeling by a single Vedda, if not exactly an example of magic, seems to us to be an example of the mode of thought from which magical practices spring and perhaps an example of an early experiment in magic, which under favourable circumstances might give rise to an amulet of bear's bone.

The Veddas of Sitala Wanniya have no charms against 789
bears or other animals and the only charms directed towards 177
this end that we could discover were a number obviously of Sinhalese origin which we collected at Henebedda. Probably these are not of very recent introduction, for we obtained some of them from old Poromala, nicknamed Walaha. Poromala is one of the oldest men of the community and is its leader as

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[1] *Op. cit.* p. 289.

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far as a leader can be said to exist, and he told us that he had learnt these invocations as a boy.

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We regret that the names of our informants were not noted in every case in the following charms, but we give them where possible. The transliterations and translations of these charms as well as the comments on them are by Mr Parker who points out that the word *Ōn* occurring in a number of them is the Indian *Ōm*[1].

The first two charms are directed against bears.

Arini kurini, nāga pata gē ja hurē, jaḥ.

Venerable one of noble family (?). O Lord, born in a house in a rock-hole. Be off!

Mr Parker writes, "I do not know the meaning of the first two words of the spell, *arini kurini.* Probably *arini* is derived from *ārya* and the honorific ending *ni*, meaning 'the venerable one.' In that case the second word may be *kulīna*, 'of noble family,' and the whole translation would be as given. *Patā* for *pataha*, a hole, hollow or pool."

This charm was given us by Poromala of Bingoda who said he had known it a long time. Its meaning could not be ascertained in the field. The next charm was obtained from Tissahami, the Vedda Arachi, who said it had been used in his youth by the Kovil Vanamai Veddas.

Ōn Dakasak Budunnē kunu goḍen upan Nīla Kandigē baḍē upa Nīlāda Nīlīda, nil, pō ādā, nil, po adī, pōḥ.

Ōn! Born in the womb of Nīla (the blue-black) Kandī, born from the heap of filth of a thousand Buddhas (or sages), whether (you are) Nīlā o Nīlī (the blue-black one, m. or f.). Stop! Go thou (m.)! Stop! Go thou (f.). Be off!

The first part is ordinary Sinhalese; the orders to go are i Tamil.

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[1] "This word begins nearly all invocations, and it is stated in the *Vishnu Purā* (Wilson, p. 273) that 'The syllable *Ōm* is defined to be the eternal monosyllabl Brahma.' On p. 274 Wilson adds (f. n.) 'The daily prayers of the Brahman commenc with the formula *Ōm bhūh, bhuvah, swar*; *Ōm*, earth, sky, heaven.'

"In the *Sacred Laws of the Āryas* (Bühler), I. 4, 6 (Aphorisms of Āpastamba) it i said 'The syllable "*Ōm*" is the door of heaven.' At I. 4, 8 also 'And in common lif at the occasion of ceremonies performed for the sake of welfare, the sentences shall b headed by this word, as, for instance, "(*Ōm*) an auspicious day!" "(*Ōm*) welfare."

Mr Parker writes, "This looks like a very modern spell. The speaker treats the bear contemptuously; but I cannot explain the reference to the sages. He wishes the bear to understand the very inferior position he occupies, in his opinion."

The next charm applies to the elephant.

Ōn! Aeri singa wayirā naeri singā swadgayā, namā. Sī.

Ōn! Excited (or strong) elephant, angry one, stout elephant. Salutation! homage! Be off!

We could obtain no satisfactory translation of this charm. Mr Parker writes, "The difficult words in this spell are *aeri* and *naeri*. Such spells as these almost always commence by applying honourable epithets to the animals, and therefore a probable derivation of the former word is from *airya* (Skt root *ir*), with the meaning 'excited,' 'aroused,' or from *iraya* 'strong.'

"*Naeri* is perhaps derived from *neriyanawā*, to grow stout or obese, although the change from *e* to *ae* is unusual. The translation would then be as above.

"*Singa*, for *śringa*, a horn; compare *śringin*, an elephant, derived from the same word.

"*Wayirawā*. This was translated in Ceylon as Bhairava, but the Sinhalese form for this deity is Bahirawā, and I prefer the meaning given above, from the Tamil *vayiram*, angry, and *avan*, he.

"*Swadgayā* appears literally to mean 'may you go to heaven,' *swarga*; but compare *swāgata* 'salutation' from *suwa* and *agata*."

Mr De Zoysa gives the following charm as a protection against elephants but he does not give its origin.

Ichchata vallay
Pachchata vallay
Dela devallay
Sita appa sita.

A hanging member in front (trunk)
A hanging member behind (tail)
On two sides two hanging members (the two ears)
Stay, beast, stay!

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537 The next two charms were given by Tissahami the Vedda Arachi as protections against the leopard and the buffalo respectively. They were said to be in use at Bandaraduwa but owing to an oversight this statement was not verified.

Ōm! Sinham Sivatthe wedippulayā nam ata kata āru. Sī.

Ōm! O Lion, for the sake of Siva, if you are one who has escaped from shooting, may (your) feet and mouth be appeased. Be off!

The words of this charm are chiefly Tamil.

Sivatthe from *Śiva* and *atthem*, on account of.

Vedippulayā for *Vedippiḷaiyār* (honorific) from *Veḍi* "a shot," and *piḷai* to escape from a danger.

Āru, v. *āru*, "to cool," "be appeased," "repose."

Sī for *isī*, an expression used in driving away cats.

Mr Parker points out that "remembrance of the danger from which he himself escaped is expected to cause the leopard to sympathise with and to spare the man."

Ōm. Nā Waeraelligē puta Rana Dēvatāwē Andungiri parawatē wasā indagena Kalugal rusiyāṭayā tō asni maṭa no wayā. Hōwa āyā howa.

Ōm. Rana Devata, son of Nāga-Waeraelli (K.), thou shalt strike the Kalugal (Black-rock) Ascetic who sits on the Andun-giri (Black-hill) mountain; not me. Be off, be off!

Mr Parker does not know anything about the Rana Devata (Godling of Fighting) or his mother, or the Ascetic, but the charm suggests to him that the Devata is believed to inspire the buffalo to attack men.

Bailey gives the following charm against an animal called *ōkma* which he says is the wild boar, though Mr Parker considers that the *ōkma* is the buffalo and this view is also taken by Mr De Zoysa. We are inclined to agree with them and therefore quote this charm here.

Iri deyyanné ōkma
Sanda deyyanné ōkma
Pasé Budunné ōkma
Situ ōkma situ

Okma of the Sun-god!
Okma of the Moon-god!
Okma of the Pase Buda!
Stay, *Okma*, stay!

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The great interest of this spell is that Bailey obtained it from the Nilgala Veddas over fifty years ago, and that he was able to trace the Sinhalese charm against toothache—from which it was derived.

Ira deyené ayé!
Sanda deyené ayé!
Pasé Buduné ayé!
Dati nositwa dat ayé!
Worm of the sun-god!
Worm of the moon-god!
Worm of the Passe Buddha!
Stay not in the tooth, thou tooth-worm.

Bailey recognised the importance of this discovery, for he wrote, "These are identical; yet the Veddahs and the Sinhalese certainly do not associate so closely as to borrow one another's charms....The term okma I can get no satisfactory explanation of. It is not Sinhalese, certainly I assume it means 'wild boar,' and this is the charm to arrest a boar in the path; but it is not the term used by the Veddahs for a boar in ordinary conversation. The allusion to the Pase, or Pache Buddha, is curious as occurring in both....The other Veddah charms are, I believe, quite unlike those of the Sinhalese, but on that point I am still making enquiries...[1]."

The next two charms are against snakes and were obtained from Poromala (Walaha) of Henebedda and Poromala of Bingoda.

It is necessary for the efficacy of the first of these charms that a string of human hair be bound round the limb above the bite. The hand of the operator is then carried down the limb repeatedly as he mutters the charm, the thumb nail being flicked against the ground each time the hand has passed down the leg[2]. This is to drive the poison into the ground. The string of hair is not the purposeful beginning of rational treatment; we believe that it was not considered necessary to tie the hair

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 304.
There can be little doubt that this and similar charms crept into the beliefs of the wilder Veddas at the same time and in the same way as the *yaku* of village Veddas, e.g. Unapane Kiriamma, became known to the wilder Veddas.

[2] Snake bites in the jungle are invariably on the leg.

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string at all tightly and our informants were perfectly certain that the benefit derived from this treatment (which Poromala assured us he had seen succeed more than once) was due to the virtue of the hair of the head which might equally well be that of the snake's victim, or of any one else.

Namō. Nayin gini helāmi, polangun darana halāmi, karawala māla halāmi, pansiyak sarpayin in aes gaesī, is gaesī, dala gaesū, wisa baesī maha polowaṭa dēswāhā.

Salutation! I set fire to cobras, I coil up (or split up) polongas (*Dabois russelli*), I make curry of karawilas (*Bungarus sp.*). From five hundred snakes the eyes are knocked out, the heads are beaten, the teeth are knocked out, and the poison is sent down to the earth. Ēswaha!

"*Namo* is a Pali expression, borrowed from Buddhist works etc. in which it takes the place occupied by *om* in India. It is derived from the Skt. root *nam*, to bend, bow etc.

"*Malu* is the colloquial word for curry; also for meat, but the latter word is not suitable here. The Sinhalese never say 'I made meat of' anything.

"*Deswaha* from *da*, the conjunction 'and' in combination with *ēswaha*. The last two words of the charm should be *polowaṭada ēswaha*."

Ahasaṭa guru kawuda guru? Aha(sa) ṭa guru ira sanda de guru.

Polawaṭa guru kawuda guru? Polawaṭa guru Mihikat devuru.

Nayinḍa guru kawuda guru? Nayiḍa guru Nāga guru.
Visēṭa guru kawu(da) guru? Visēṭa guru mamayi guru.
Visē basin tilō guru mātā. Me desē guruṇ anen yayi dēsē.
Poloṇ visē dāra visē. Tō nedana tō daesṭa kalē nam.
Man daena visa bannam, visē naeti baha Guruppparāja yānam
Ōn namō.

The preceptor of the sky, who is the preceptor?

The preceptor of the sky, the Sun and the Moon are the tw preceptors.

The preceptor of the earth, who is the preceptor?

The preceptor of the earth, the great Goddess Mahikantaw is the preceptor.

And the preceptor of the cobras, who is the preceptor?

The preceptor of the cobras, the Naga is the preceptor.
The preceptor of poison, who is the preceptor?
The preceptor to poison, I am the preceptor.

For casting down poison (there is) the mother of the teacher of the three worlds (Buddha).

The preceptor of this country will go to another country (after death).

The poison of Polangas is the limit of poison. If thou, not knowing (me), shouldst make (it) for (thy) two eyes, I will bind (on thee) the poisons which I know, going (afterwards, out of thy reach) to the excellent king of many *garuda*, who have no poison. *Ōm!* salutation!

"A *guru* is a teacher or preceptor, one who has complete knowledge of the subject. A student's teacher is his *guru*. The word is also especially used to indicate a Brahman who is thoroughly acquainted with the Vedas and the forms of religious ceremonies, and who acts as a king's chaplain. Brihaspati, the deity of the planet Jupiter, was the *guru* of the Gods[1].

"Mahikantawa is the Earth Goddess, or personification of the earth.

"*Nāga* are supernatural beings who take either a human form or that of cobras, at will. I think the reference to Mayā, the mother of Buddha, means that by bringing into the world such a son she has reduced the poison of evil deeds and thoughts, which are compared to those of the poisonous snakes. The poison of the polanga (*Daboia russelli*) is said to be the most powerful of all snake poisons. It is stated that persons sometimes die within five minutes after being bitten by this snake, and usually within half an hour. There is an idea that some snakes have the power of projecting poison from their eyes.

"The *garuda* is a fabulous bird which feeds on poisonous snakes, especially cobras."

We failed to obtain any coherent account of the meaning of this charm in the field and are indebted to Mr Parker for the following explanation. "I think I understand the meaning of this invocation quite clearly. The reciter says 'As the Sun and Moon are the preceptors, or the beings or deities who have a complete knowledge of the sky; as Mahikantawa has complete knowledge of the earth; as Nagas have complete knowledge of cobras, so I have complete knowledge of all poisons.' He first wishes to impress the snake with a belief in his powers, and then he threatens it."

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[1] In the *Ordinances of Manu* (Burnell's translation) ii, 1 and 2, it is stated "That Brahman is called Guru who performs according to rule the rites on conception and the like, and feeds (the child) with rice (for the first time)." At ii, 149 it is said, "He who confers the benefit of the Veda on anyone, be it little or be it much, he should know him to be here his Guru, by reason of that benefit through the Veda."

The next charm given by Poromala of Bingoda cures the bite of the centipede, but neither Poromala nor Tissahami the Vedda Arachi could tell us the meaning of the spell.

Nāngara guru, nāngara guru, nāngara potakun aeragena visakuṇ.

Man atu bindagena, rattaeyā pāgāgena, aeli moḍarā piṭa siṭagena, api guruṇ sihikaragena, mama yannē visa bāgena, tō nodana tō daesṭa kalē nam maṇ daena visa baemnaṇ, eyin taekae(?) visē naeta bahu Guruppraraja yanam. Ōn namō!

Vile preceptors, vile preceptors, poisonous ones taking (with you) vile young ones!

I, breaking branches, trampling on the Centipede, sitting on the back of the White Peacock, reflecting on our preceptors, I will go (only after) casting out the poisons. If thou, not knowing (me), shouldst make (poison) for (thy) two eyes[1], I will bind (on thee) the poisons which I know, after (?) that going to the excellent king of many *garudas*, who have no poison. Ōn, Salutation!

"The centipede is here treated with much less respect than the vertebrates, and the last two words must be said ironically. The breaking of branches refers to the custom of making offerings of leafy twigs when asking for the protection of the forest Deities. I do not know the white peacock, *aeli monarā*. (The bird is sometimes colloquially called *monḍarā*.) It may be the peacock that is the riding animal or *vahana* of the God Skanda, which is carved at the Tanjore temple with a snake hanging from its bill. Peacocks kill centipedes as well as snakes.

"The preceptors on whom the exorcist reflects will be those mentioned in the spell for cobras—that is Buddha, the Sun and Moon, Mahikantawa, and the Nagas who are guardian deities Possibly also Skanda and Ayiyanar, the Guardian Forest Deitie of the Sinhalese. I do not understand *taekae*, there may have been some mistake in writing down the charm." 789 539

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[1] Another reading is, If thou (even) unwittingly, hast made (poison) for (thy) tw eyes.

CHARMS TO OBTAIN FOOD.

Neither amulets nor verbal formulae are used to insure straight shooting or the killing of deer or sambar, the two animals providing the greater part of the flesh consumed by the Veddas; nor are there amulets or charms to obtain success in pig hunting. Doubtless this is because the *yaku* when properly invoked give success in these matters. There are, however, no *yaku* whose special business it is to give success in the monkey drives which are, or were until recently, practised, and we found that certain formulae were sung by the members of the driving party, and in some case muttered by the men who waited in ambush for the monkeys to be driven to them. And we were told that the singing or reciting of these formulae was necessary to the success of the drive. 789 224

Mr Parker uses the diminutive "doggie" in the translations of the two following charms collected at Bandaraduwa in order to retain the sense of the originals, which clearly indicates that the reciter is speaking coaxingly to the monkeys. The words of the charm are literally "dog" and "bitch," the use of which in the translation would give a wrong impression. In one charm the hunters call the monkeys to them assuring them that they are quite safe, for certainly they cannot shoot them. 789 224 539

Charm sung while driving Wandura monkeys (Bandaraduwa).

Ammā maya nā kolandīnī
Kolandan handā piṭa yannī
Ekī kiyalā innā kātā,
Ēkiṭ awalā yanḍama yannī.
"*Taek, taek,*" *kiyalā wāren ballā.*
"*Kik, kik,*" *kiyalā wāren baellī.*
Nāwini nāgan handā piṭā,
Ēkiṭa dunnak widala kōdoyi
Ēkī yanḍama yanḍama yannī.
Keliyen keliyaṭa wāren ballā,
Keli madalāgena duwagena wāre.

Mother mine, the leaf-clad chief,
Pops behind a leafy trunk;

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Tells another who is there;
She, excited, runs away.
"Taek, taek," crying, doggie come;
"Kik, kik," crying, doggie come.
In the Na-tree forest hid,
Safe behind a banyan trunk,
With a bow she can't be shot,
Setting off to go, to go.
Playing, playing, doggie come.
Stop your games and running come.

Charm sung while driving Rilawa monkeys (Bandaraduwa).

Ammā māyē nā rōsāni
Rōsan handō piṭa yanni
"Rō, Rō" kiyala wāren ballā.
Burulak handē piṭo yannā.
Koliyen koliyaṭa duwagana wāre,
Keli maḍalāgena duwagena wāre.

Mother mine, the lovely chief,
Pops behind a cotton trunk,
"Ro, Ro" crying, doggie come.
Behind a satin stem she goes.
Playing, playing, running come;
Stop your games and running come.

The Sinhalese heading of this charm, collected at Henebedda (where it was dictated by Poromala of Bingoda) runs *Wanduraŋ nawa tanaka wiya*, the translation of which is "said at a place where wanderu stay."

Ātu surā damanni
Ō man handiṭa pāninnī.
"Ah, Oh," kiyā wārē nam
Kola surā damanni,
Mē man handē naṭanni.
Bālā siṭō aeyi dennā?

The branches they scratch off and throw down,
They spring on to that trunk (?).
Come, indeed, saying "Ah, Oh."
They scratch off and throw down the leaves.
They dance on this trunk (?).
Why did they stop and look, both of them?

789 We could find no trace of any ceremony having for its object the control of the supply of game and honey or the increase of the number of yams and edible berries. It is assumed that

these are beyond human control, though the *yaku*, who in an indefinite way are considered to be concerned with them, give success in hunting, yam digging and honey gathering. 789

Nor could we discover any trace of weather magic in spite of the preference for rain indicated in a number of the invocations given in Chapter X, as well as by the remark on this subject made by Handuna, quoted upon page 84.

We could not discover among the wilder Veddas any magic connected with the bow and arrow, and certainly these were never personified or named. We, however, obtained the following "song" from the village Veddas of Bintenne. It was taken down just as we were breaking camp and so no special attention was paid to it, as we were assured that it was of the same nature as other songs we had collected. Mr Parker, who has provided the following transliteration and translation, points out that, in his opinion, this "song" must be regarded as a charm said over an arrow in order to kill monitor lizards. To our suggestion that this song might be sung mockingly to a particularly bad shot, urging him to try again and see if he could not hit the lizard in some part of its body, Mr Parker replied that this did not seem probable to him. "If this were addressed to a person who was a bad shot I hardly think expressions would be used such as *i maela* which would then require to be translated 'younger brother of arrows.'" We accordingly treat this formula as a charm and include it in the present chapter. 789 539

Mündi Kanda pita waltiri gä,
Ēhata widapā hiri keri.
Ettama arapa ī maelā,
Pitata accon palāga.
Etanama arapa ī maelā,
Tommata laeffen (palāga).
Ettama arapa ī maelā,
Tommata accon palāga.
Etanama aerapa ī maelā,
Bellata laeffen palāga.
Etanama aerapa ī maelā,
Badata laeffen palāga.
Etanama aerapa ī maelā,
Kihila maddien laruiga.

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Go and drop behind the body of the monitor lizard ;
Pierce it, dear cousin.
Leave that place, arrow-brother,
Go and cleave it in the angle (or edge) of the back.
Leave that place, arrow-brother,
Go and doubly (?) cleave it in the tail.
Leave that place, arrow-brother,
Go and cleave it in the angle of the tail.
Leave that place, arrow-brother,
Go and doubly (?) cleave it in the neck.
Leave that place, arrow-brother,
Go and doubly (?) cleave it in the stomach.
Leave that place, arrow-brother,
Go and fix (yourself) in the middle of the armpit.

"In order to rhyme all the lines ought to end in a long a.

"*Ettama* is an evident mistake for *etanama*.

"*Tomma* is for *tumbâ*, a Vaedi word for tail, the Sinhalese is *tubu*.

"*Asom* and *assom* are for *assen*, abl. of *assa*, angle or corner.

"*Laeffen* is a word I have not previously met with. The only probable derivation with which I am acquainted is the Tamil *iraffa*, Sin. *raffa*, double, two-fold.

"*Malli* means younger brother.

"*Kiri kurâ*, lit. milk cousin, simply means dear cousin."

LOVE CHARMS.

832 Love magic or charms to compel love do not seem to exist among the wilder Veddas, though in the Bintenne we were told that women may charm the waist strings they give to their husbands, in order to ensure their fidelity.

AMULETS.

301 Before discussing the existence of these it is necessary to determine to what extent the Veddas now wear, or formerly wore, ornaments.

Disregarding the stories current among the Sinhalese that the Veddas formerly had valuable jewellery and pots of pure gold—legends of which the Veddas themselves are quite

x [errata — see p. xx. — Analyst]

success in honey gathering, the shaman asked us for two strings 301
of beads. These beads he placed over betel leaves upon two 782
arrows thrust in the centre of the dancing ground which were surrounded by betel leaves offered to the *yaka*. These beads were said to represent the rough rope of creeper with which the green twigs forming the smoker were secured and the rope by which the smoker was lowered to the comb.

When it is remembered that Veddas do not tattoo or paint 304
themselves, and have never been seen wearing any kind of seeds 302
as ornaments, it seems reasonable to assume that where beads 301
are sought after by the Veddas they are valued for their supposed magical properties.

In conclusion we may give the only perfectly clear instance 751
of a Vedda wearing an amulet with which we are acquainted. The shaman of Bandaraduwa wore on his wrist a small silver cylinder such as is commonly used to contain a written charm. The cylinder was empty and had never contained a charm, but the shaman told us that he wore it in order to be cured of an illness from which he had suffered formerly, and that presently he would give the cylinder to some pilgrim proceeding to Kataragam in order that he might deposit it in the temple there.

THE EATING OF HUMAN LIVER.

Every group of Veddas except the most sophisticated village 789
Veddas believe that it was formerly the custom for a man to 266
carry in his betel pouch a small piece of dry human liver. But the majority of our informants were not clear as to the exact reason for doing this, though they were all agreed that it had something to do with raising a man's valour and making him strong to bear trouble. It was essential that the liver should be taken from a man killed by the individual who proposed to carry a portion of the dried liver in his pouch. When a man had been killed the slayer would open his belly and take out a small portion of his liver which he would dry in the sun in a secret place. This custom appears to have ceased about three generations ago, but the following instance, said to have occurred about fifty years ago, was given us at Bandaraduwa.

789 266 The headman of a small group of Kovil Vanamai Veddas killed a Sinhalese simply because he required a piece of human liver to keep in his betel pouch. In spite of this example the Bandaraduwa people could not tell us exactly how it was used, and it was only at Sitala Wanniya that it was ascertained that the purpose of the dried liver was to make men strong and confident to avenge insults. A man would bite off a piece of the dried liver and chew it, saying to himself: "I have killed this man; why should I not be strong and confident and kill this other one who has insulted me?" As far as we could understand a Vedda might thus work himself up into a condition of berseker fury, but this was only done after very serious insult, as when a man's wife had been carried off or been unfaithful, or when his bow and arrows had been stolen or an attempt made to take his land or caves[1].

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[1] It was doubtless an exaggerated account of this practice that led Gillings to accuse the Veddas of cannibalism (*Journ. Roy. As. Soc., Ceylon Branch*, 1853).

ward, shoot their long-bladed arrows in the soft fleshy part under 224 the forearm, and so disable him.[*]

They have a great dread of meeting elephants at night, and 825 have charms to protect them from them—not only to turn them 789 from their path, but to render innoxious the bear, the leopard, and the wild boar. And I must here record, that they are the only charms I have entire faith in.

I never shall forget the first time one of these Veddah charms was recited for my edification. It was midnight; I was in the heart of a dense and gloomy forest, twenty miles from any habitation. The moon had not quite risen, and the stems of the trees and the gigantic pendent creepers were flickering in the uncertain light cast by the torches, which my Veddah guides, gliding through the forest, bore before me. I was chatting to an intelligent Veddah by my side and then learnt for the first time, that they had charms, having been till then, like Tennent, ignorant of the fact.[†] I begged him to recite one—and, in an instant, the forest re-echoed with such unearthly yells, that I felt he would be a bold bear indeed, whose heart did not die within him, and whose legs did not carry him far out of hearing of the repeated and discordant "behegang! wiroooweel! wiroowah!" which formed the burden of the charm. Of its perfect efficacy, my friend had no doubt; nor indeed had I, but he was rather huffed when I suggested that the mere noise may have had something to do with its success.[‡]

Honey, and the grub in the comb, before it becomes the bee, 222 are both staple food with the Veddahs, and their acuteness [262] in discovering hives, when bee-hunting, is very remarkable. I have seen a Veddah stealing through the forest, suddenly stop—listen for an instant with uplifted hand—dart off into the jungle and return in an incredibly short space of time with a fresh honey-comb; while I have been in vain endeavouring

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[*] This fact I established beyond a doubt. I questioned many Veddahs on that practice, which Knox treats as a fable, p. 63, viz., striking an axe into the sole of an elephant's foot; and I was assured by several that, though they never practise it themselves, the Veddahs of Batticaloa do, and that they even hamstring elephants. To those who know the pluck and dexterity of the professed elephant catchers in the north of the island, there is nothing extraordinary or incredible in a Veddah approaching sufficiently close to an elephant to wound his foot or to hamstring him. But I have inquired, and cannot satisfactorily establish the truth of the statement; and I confess that I am inclined to doubt their physical power to do either.

[†] Tennent, vol. ii, part ix, chap. iii, p. 448, 2nd edit.

[‡] Tennent, vol. i, part ii, chap. i, p. 139, gives a lamentable account of the inefficacy of a charm for bears. I dare say the unhappy moorman there mentioned would have been more fortunate had he known the Veddah charm. The Singhalese have charms for the same purpose; but they differ from those of the Veddahs. [171]

differ from the Singhalese, and those which, though Singhalese, 197
are, in the sense here used, peculiar to the Veddahs. It has been
suggested to me that some of the former are derived directly from
the Sanskrit, but as I am incompetent to judge of the accuracy
of these suggestions, I do not venture to give the conjectural
derivations which I have received.

I have, myself, noted down, and caused to be noted down from 789 ●
dictation, several Veddah charms, which are not, I am informed,
known to the Singhalese, though in some there is a certain
resemblance to charms in use by the latter. Whether corrupted
during the many ages in which they have been unintelligently
repeated, or whether they are in a form of Singhalese now
obsolete, or both, they are not easily translated. They are charms [755]
used in illness, and for protection against elephants, leopards,
bears, and wild boars.

The Veddahs are at present chiefly known by names similar to 551
those in use among the neighbouring Singhalese, and it is curious
to observe how oddly they are jumbled together. In one family 171
are to be found names which would only be appropriate to
Kandyans of the highest caste, and names which could only be borne
by the lowest. Some of their names, too, belong to Hindoos, and
not to Singhalese. Some are not proper names at all; while,
most strange of all, others, though utterly unknown in Ceylon,
either to Tamils or Singhalese, are in common use in Bengal, and
refer directly to Hindoo deities, or personages mentioned in the
Puránas.

The names of the preceding generation appear to have differed
in a very marked manner from the Singhalese names by which
the Veddahs now are for the most part known; and those in the
list appended to this paper are chiefly the names of the fathers
and mothers of the present Veddahs. Most of these I was able,
by the kindness of Colonel Vincent Eyre, C.B., R.A., to submit to
the inspection of Professor Lees, of Bengal, and they are [197]
pronounced by him to have a decided Sanskrit affinity.

It is a singular and significant fact, that not only are many of
their names unknown in Ceylon, but their meaning is utterly
unintelligible to the Veddahs themselves, among whom they
were family designations which have descended to them from
father to son for ages.

It is strange that so many have written of the Veddahs, and 114
have been contented with information at once scanty and
inaccurate. Davy believed that they had no names.* Tennent affirms
that they have no charms—no "instinct of worship"—and doubts

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* Davy, *Account of the Veddahs*, p. 118 of his work.

2;Bailey G-5 (ca. 1854) 1863

AX5 Vedda AX5

no idols, offer no sacrifices, and pour no libations. They cannot 782
be said to have any temples, for the few sticks sometimes erected, 776
with a branch thrown over them, are, I imagine, simply to protect their votive offerings. [346]

They have no system of medicine, though they will accept medicine when given. 755 In cases of sickness they sprinkle water on the patient, invoking their deceased ancestors to heal him. 769 Sometimes they simply utter the name of spirits as they dance round the sick man. Sometimes a garland of flowers is offered to the spirit who has afflicted him.* They believe in the efficacy of what are called devil dances, but are ignorant of the art of a Kattadia, or devil dancer. I can find no trace of metempsychosis, [775] so universal amongst Buddhists.

I have now described what is the *actual* religious belief, if it 771 can be so called, of the Veddahs; and it was only by dint of often 174 repeated visits among them, and very careful inquiry, that I succeeded in obtaining the particulars I have recorded.

But, that at some period of their history they had some knowledge of a more "systematized" faith, their charms and invocations, some of their customs, and the very names they bear, seem conclusively to prove.

Such testimony is invaluable. For neither the inquirer, whose zeal may induce him to jump too hastily at conclusions, nor the people themselves, can distort it, or give it a strained interpretation. But this evidence all points to something long past, to a faith once, at least, familiar to them, but now forgotten. At the least, it indicates a former contact with civilization, and proves that they have a history more full of incident than would belong to a race which was always as barbarous as it is now.†

In their charms the sun and moon are frequently invoked, [821] although in their daily life neither luminary is respected.‡

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* They invoke the Gal-Yakko, spirit of the rock; Wedde-Yakko, spirit of the chase; Oonapāna-Yakko, of whom I have no knowledge; and the shade of their great-grandmother. They also propitiate "Maha-Yakkhini", who appears rather an evil personage. It is to her that they offer a garland of flowers. They describe her as a "foreigner", and say that they know nothing about her, but acquired their awe of her from the Singhalese. The Weddi-Yakko is known to the Singhalese; hunters offer flowers, blood, and burnt meat to this spirit, before hunting, to secure their success. Oonapāna-Yakko is known to the Singhalese of the Weddiratta, but I do not think he is generally known to the Singhalese.

† Vide Tennent's account of the Veddahs, especially vol. ii, part iii, chap. ix, p. 441-2. "They have no knowledge of a God, nor of a future state, no temples, no altars, prayers, or charms; in short, no 'instinct of worship' except, it is reported, some ceremonies analogous to devil worship."

‡ This occurs in several charms. The following (which, though not 789 known to the Singhalese, as applied to *wild boars*, is identical with one known to them to drive away toothache), not only invokes the sun and moon,

2: Bailey G-5 (ca. 1854) 1863
AX5 Vedda AX5

Almost omnivorous, I have before remarked their scrupulous
262 abstinence from the flesh of cows and fowls, though they can
171 assign no reason for it. Now, though good Buddhists as well as
Hindús reject the flesh of cows, yet since the Veddahs have never associated with their Buddhist neighbours, they cannot have acquired this prejudice from them.

And though all over the south-east part of Ceylon, where even the superstitious awe of Skanda extends, the cock, the device on his banner, is to a certain degree respected; yet, since the Veddahs care no more for Skanda than they do for all the other gods in the Hindú Pantheon—the very names of whom, *as gods*, are unknown to them, they would not respect his sacred cock.* In

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789 but Pasé-B'uddho—the only single allusion to Buddhism among them; but the very meaning of this and other charms is unknown to the Veddahs. They are repeated by rote; they do not pause to understand them, and could not if they would. It is enough for them, as for most Oriental people, that a particular formula is to serve a particular purpose.

Veddah Charm for Protection against a Wild Boar.

539

Ira deyené ókma.	Boar (?) of the sun-god!
Sanda deyené ókma.	Boar (?) of the moon-god!
Passé buduné ókma.	Boar (?) of the Passé Buddha!
Situ ókma situ.	Stay, boar, stay!

Singhalese Charm for Tooth ache.

Ira deyené myâ!	Worm of the sun-god!
Sanda deyené myâ!	Worm of the moon-god!
Passé Buduné myâ!	Worm of the Passé Buddha!
Daté nositee dat myâ!	Stay not in the teeth, thou tooth-worm!

171 These are identical; yet the Veddahs and the Singhalese certainly do not associate so closely as to borrow one another's charms. Have they descended in each race since the time they were one? The term *ókma* I can get no satisfactory explanation of. It is not Singhalese, certainly. I assume it means "wild boar", as this is the charm to arrest a boar in the path; but it is not the term used by the Veddahs for a boar in ordinary conversation. The allusion to the Pasé, or Paché, Buddha, is curious as occurring in both; the one people being anything but Buddhist, while Buddhism is the religion of the other. As Gotama Buddha visited Ceylon long anterior to the final establishment of Buddhism in Ceylon, and descended in Binteane, may not this solitary allusion to the religion have been handed down in this form among the Veddahs from a period even before the invasion by Wijalja? In the form of a charm which is repeated by rote, such an allusion would be most naturally retained. So far from having any Buddhist tendencies, they do not even show the slightest outward respect in the presence of a Buddhist priest. The other Veddah charms are, I believe, quite unlike those of the Singhalese, but on that point I am still making inquiries; aided, as I have been throughout, by Mr. De Loyse, the able and intelligent modliar of Bentotte.

* The far-famed Hindu temple of Katragam, which attracts thousands of pilgrims annually from India, and is regarded with awe by the Singhalese, is dedicated to Skanda, the Indian Mars. The temple is built on a spot which, according to tradition (though it is not mentioned in the Skanda Purannas), is the site of Skanda's camp in his wars with the Asuras.

165 the other hand, the mortality would be very considerable among the offspring. This mortality, when infantile, would generally be among the first born and last born, owing to maternal immaturity in the first case and constitutional depletion in the last.

842 913 On the question of sex I found that the prevalent idea was that if a wife was not thoroughly obedient to her husband she would invariably give birth to females, and it was only complete subjection to the husband's will that could secure a preponderance of males.

I could get no information on the subject of barrenness or sterility.

776 782 As regards the religion of the Veddas previous to their modernization, it appears that they believed in certain "Yakko," who exercised certain influences for good or evil. There was no conception of a Supreme Creator. On the other hand, the "Yakko" possessed, in common with humanity, a tendency to favour; so that it was always possible to secure its influence in return for special molifying ceremonies. Thus, by certain incantations, ceremonial offerings, or honorific declarations, the Yakko who exercised specific powers could be induced to subtend influence to the advantage of the individual then desiring it. Thus, the Yakka who guarded the deer might be induced to direct the deer to come within the reach of the Vedda's bow and arrows. On the other hand, another Yakka might be propitiated so as to render the hunter invisible to the leopard, so that the hunter would escape harm.

789 224 Special incantations were supposed to render an individual successful in the chase, so that his aim would be deadly, or that more game would come his way.

753 843 Again, disease or sickness was the direct outcome of certain malign Yakko, who could be propitiated, and this was specially to be considered when a woman was pregnant, so that the evil might be diverted from the unborn child.

241 I was not able to discover from my informant if the Veddas in their primitive times had any definite form of agriculture. It is certain that they were acquainted with rice, but I could not ascertain how it was procured.

361 "But surely there are Veddas in Galmede; everybody told us so," I insisted.

"Veddas of a sort, yes," was the reply; "and perhaps among them, one or two good ones; but the best live away in the caves, in those rocks yonder. Now if you'd come yesterday you'd have seen two of them who brought me some *goes* in exchange for betel and tobacco."

000 Disappointment melted into sudden hope. So, there were real Veddas still left. But oh! these people. Was ever chase so disheartening? Always the promise, never the fulfilment. Were we chasing phantoms of the wilderness, mocking spirits of a dead race, intolerant of the intrusion on their tranquil sepulchres?

There was no possibility of visiting the cave-Veddas that day. So I decided to stay over and visit them the next morning, travelling across the pathless hills to the high road; while my companion,—fed up to the teeth by now at the very mention of the word Vedda, and in a bad way with festering tick-bites, heat exhaustion, and lack of fresh food—tried to dissuade me from an adventure that promised no success. But I was bent on it. So we agreed that most of the bearers should accompany him to Maha Oya by an easier route, while I remained behind with three men and a two days' ration of tinned food.

With nightfall my prospect of securing a guide to the Galmede hills was no nearer than in the morning. The only man who could be relied on was down with fever. I was seated disconsolately in the Chetty's garden after dinner, close to a chatting group, when suddenly I saw a shadow slip in out of the darkness and join them; there was some whispering; "Ah, is this the man they call Meenemaruwa?*" I heard 648 one of my bearers ask.

241 "Yes, I am he they call murderer, rogue and everything besides." The answer came loud and unabashed from the man himself.

115 Rumour had spoken of him as far away as Kotelinda; and it had not spoken kindly. He lived three miles up the river by himself, inspiring the neighbourhood with awe of him. He was in a quandary that night. Returning home after a short absence, he had found that his brother had been taken into custody for illicit *chena* cultivation. He waxed eloquent on his wrongs, while the others listened: "Now what I want to know," he said "is why they should have taken my brother, who is a fool and cannot say a word in his defence, when they might have taken me? No, they wouldn't do that because I can talk. My brother cultivated the *chena* it is true, but it was I who gave it to him; the land is mine. They want me to pay taxes, I who am a Vedda! My grandmother was a [826 Vedda of Veddas, you should have seen her. How well I remember the 789] piece of human liver she carried in her betel-bag. We children would take it from her and want to throw it away; she would pluck it from us, saying, 'Hu, what do you want with this, isn't it mine?' Io, why do they treat me like this? Someone is angry with me. It must be the *araichi*. No, the *araichi* is good to me; he and I are friends. Now *Hettyar*, what must I do? I must go to the courts myself and get a petition drawn." Thus he talked interminably, while I wondered how a Vedda could come to argue like a lawyer.

"Now leave all that aside," I interrupted, "and tell me how I am to see these Veddas of the rocks tomorrow."

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*Murderer.

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791 **MAGICIANS AND DIVINERS**--specialists in magic (e.g., wonder workers, exorcists, magicians, fakirs); specialists in divination (e.g., astrologers, oracles, diviners, fortune tellers, seers, mediums); characteristics of each (e.g., personality, sex, training, garb); sources of power; prerogatives and disabilities; organization; fees; etc. See also:

Magicians as entertainers 548
Witches, wizards, and sorcerers 754
Shamans and faith healers 756
Divination 787
Magic 789

775 other, but betel leaves and areca nut are often added and the oldest survivor of a small group of comparatively unsophisticated Veddas seen at Godatalawa stated that in the old days this offering would have consisted of yams and water, if, as was often the case, coconuts and rice—which were only to be secured with difficulty and by barter—could not be obtained.] In each
775 community there is one man called *kapurale* or *dugganawa*, who
769 has the power and knowledge requisite to call the *yaku*, and in
791 the ceremony of presenting the offering called *Nae Yaku Natanawa* (literally the dancing of the *Nae Yaku*), this man calls upon the *yaka* of the recently dead man to come and take the offering. It was stated that *dugganawa* was an older word than *kapurale* and was in fact a Vedda word, though it was soon obvious that only a minority of Veddas knew it. The *dugganawa*[1] who throughout this book will be spoken of as the shaman, becomes possessed by the *yaka* of the dead man who speaks through the mouth of the shaman in hoarse guttural accents, declaring that he approves the offering, that he will assist his kinsfolk in hunting, and often stating the direction in which the next hunting party should go.

Each shaman trains his successor, usually taking as his
791 pupil his own son or his sister's son (i.e. his actual or potential son-in-law). Handuna of Sitala Wanniya learnt from his father. At Henebedda we were told that a special hut was built in which the shaman and his pupil slept, and from which women were excluded. It seems probable that this is only done among Veddas who have come under Sinhalese influence, as among them, but not among the wilder Veddas, women are considered unclean, and there was no isolation of the shaman and his pupil at Sitala Wanniya.

Sella Wanniya of Unuwatura Bubula was instructed by his father, and during his apprenticeship he resided with him in a hut into which his mother was not allowed to come.

The pupil learns to repeat the invocations used at the various ceremonies, but no food is offered to the *yaka*. At Sitala Wanniya we were told that the shaman recited the following
[534] formula, explaining to the *yaka* that he is teaching his pupil:

([1] See footnote, p. 16.)

791 [539]

(Ayu bowa. Mama ada sita man golayek hadanawd
Eyin kisi waradak ganda epa.
Mage golayata man kiya denawa me puda topata denda

"May (your) life be long! From to-day I am rearing a scholar of the mind. Do not take any offense at it. I am explaining to my pupil how to give this offering to you."

The yaku understand that although the formulae invoking them are recited they are not really being called, and so the pupil does not become possessed while learning, nor do the yaku hurt him. The puil avoids eating or touching pig or eating fowl in the same way, as the shaman, and Sell of Unuwatura Bubula stated that while learning he avoided rice, coconuts and kurakan, eating especially the flesh of the sambar and monitor lizard.

The shaman exercises complete control over his pupil and, we believe does not usually train more than one disciple. We heard of one instance in which a shaman, considering his pupil unfit, advised him to give up all idea of becoming a shaman. This happened among the Mudigala Veddas, apparently between 20 or 30 years ago. No man, however highly trained, is accounted the official shaman of a community during his teacher's life, although with his teacher's permission he will, when he is proficient, perform ceremonies and become possessed by the yaku.

791 826

At Sitala Wanniya we discovered that a shaman must not cut his hair unless he takes special precautions. One of us was collecting specimens of hair, and on asking Handuna for a lock, was answered affirmatively but told that as he (Handuna) was a shaman a cloth must be held over his head "because of the yaku." As we had used a great deal of cloth, we asked if a piece of newspaper would do? Handuna replied that it would be as good, but he must keep it always to cover his head when he danced. We explained that the paper would probably rot; the said he, "I shall die." He said he did not know why, but he believed this, as his father had told him that even should his son want a lock of his hair (hair is given as "seisin") he must cover his head with a cloth when it was cut, and ever afterwards must cover it when dancing, or else the yaku would kill him. Yet such was his politeness that rather than refuse our request

791 826 he was ready to suffer this inconvenience. Of course under these conditions we did not take a lock of his hair.

His son-in-law Kaira, although he assisted Handuna in dancing, offered no objection to our collecting a sample of his hair, nor did any of the other members of the community.

769 791 Besides the shaman one or more of the near relatives of the dead man may become possessed, but this though common is not invariable. The yaka leaves the shaman soon after he has promised his favour and success in hunting, the shaman often collapsing as the spirit departs and in any case appearing in an exceedingly exhausted state for a few minutes. However, he soon comes round when he and all present, constituting the men, women and children of the group, eat the offering, usually on the spot on which the invocation took place, though this is not absolutely necessary, for on one occasion at Sitala Wanniya when a rain squall threatened, the food was quickly carried to the cave a few hundred yards distant from the dancing ground.

769 It was clear that this eating of the food which had been offered to the yaku was an act of communion, and an essential part of the ceremony which was thought to bring health and good fortune, for some communities even anointed the heads of their dogs with the milk of the offering, explaining that this was done because of their value. This was the case at Henebedda, while the patriarch of the Godatalawa Veddas explained that some of the offering was always given to their dogs to eat, for the reason that they depended upon them in hunting. In one Nae Yaku ceremony (Bandaraduwa) the shaman fed the nearest relatives of the dead man immediately after the yaka left him, holding the bowl containing the offering to their mouths, while among the Sitala Wanniya Veddas, not only did the shaman, while still possessed, feed the children of the group from the bowl and smear its contents over their faces, but a number of members of the group, including the grandchildren of the dead man whose yaka possessed the shaman at the time, place a small portion of the offering in the shaman's mouth. The strength of the desire for the companionship and communion with the spirits of the kindly dead was very strong, and it was generally felt that shamans, and those frequently possessed by

becomes a *yaka*, for it appears that properly speaking the word 775
yaka should not be applied to the spirit of the dead for the first few days after it has left the body. During this short period the word *prana karaya* (living one) should be used for the spirit of the deceased, for it has not yet attained the condition implied by the term *yaka*. Among the Henebedda Veddas it was thought that the *prana karaya* resorted to Kande Yaka a few days, perhaps three or five, after death, and then obtained permission from him to accept offerings from the living, and thus become numbered among his attendants, the *Nae Yaku*; but beyond a vague idea that the spirit might perhaps exist for a short time at the site where death had occurred, these folk had no knowledge of its state before it reached Kande Yaka. The Bandaradewa Veddas, who had come more under Sinhalese and Tamil influence, asserted that the spirit of the deceased spent some days in the neighbourhood of the death scene, which it only left to seek the Kataragam God and obtain his permission to become a *yaka* and pass into the train of attendants on Kande Yaka, and so become a *Nae Yaku* capable of accepting offerings from the living and in return helping or injuring them.

The method of invocation of the *yaku* is essentially the same 769
in all Vedda ceremonies; an invocation is sung by the shaman 787
and often by the onlookers, while the shaman slowly dances, 781
usually round the offering that has been prepared for the *yaku*. Sometimes the invocations are quite appropriate and either consist of straightforward appeals to the *yaka* invoked for help, or recite the deeds and prowess of the *yaka* when he too was a man, as when Kande Yaka is addressed as "continuing to go from hill to hill [who] follows up the traces from footprint to footprint of excellent sambar deer." But at other times the charms seem singularly inappropriate; probably in many of these instances they are the remains of old Sinhalese charms that have not only been displaced from their proper position and function, but have been mangled in the process, and have in the course of time become incomprehensible. As the charm is recited over and over again the shaman dances more and more quickly, his voice becomes hoarse and he soon becomes possessed by the *yaka*, and, although he does not lose consciousness and can coordinate

769 his movements, he nevertheless does not retain any clear recollection
of what he says, and only a general idea of the movements
787 he has performed. Although there is doubtless a certain element
791 of humbug about some of the performances, we believe that this
is only intentional among the tamer Veddas accustomed to show
off before visitors, and that among the less sophisticated Veddas
the singing and movements of the dance soon produce a more
or less automatic condition, in which the mind of the shaman,
being dominated by his belief in the reality of the *yaku*, and of
his coming possession, really acts without being in a condition
of complete volitional consciousness. Most sincere practitioners
whom we interrogated in different localities agreed that although
they never entirely lost consciousness, they nearly did so at times,
and that they never fully appreciated what they said when
possessed, while at both the beginning and end of possession
they experienced a sensation of nausea and vertigo and the
ground seemed to rock and sway beneath their feet.

Some men, including Handuna of Sitala Wanniya, whom
787 we consider one of the most trustworthy of our informants, said
791 that they were aware that they shivered and trembled when they
[115] became possessed, and Handuna heard booming noises in his
ears as the spirit left him and full consciousness returned. He
said this usually happened after he had ceased to dance. We
could not hear of any shaman who saw visions while possessed
or experienced any olfactory or visual hallucinations before,
during, or after possession. The Veddas recognise that women
may become possessed, but we only saw one instance of
(alleged) possession in a woman, which occurred at a rehearsal
of a dance got up for our benefit on our first visit to Bendiyagalge,
during which we are confident that none of the dancers were
really possessed. Although we did not see the beginning of
this woman's seizure we have little doubt that there was a large
element of conscious deception in her actions, for when we
became aware of her she was sitting bolt upright with her eyes
shut and the lids quivering, apparently from the muscular effort
of keeping them tightly closed, while opposite her was Tissahami
the Vedda Arachi muttering spells over a coconut shell half full
of water with which he dabbed her eyes and face.

It is not suggested that the conscious element is entirely 787 absent from the Vedda possession dances, it is impossible to 791 believe that such a sudden collapse as that occurring in the Henebedda *kirikoraha* ceremony (p. 222) (when Kande Yaka in the person of the shaman shoots the sambar deer), followed by an almost instantaneous recovery, is entirely non-volitional, and the same holds good for the pig-spearing in the Bambura Yaka ceremony (p. 243) at Sitala Wanniya. We believe that these facts can be fully accounted for by a partial abolition of the will, that is to say, by a dulling of volition far short of complete unconsciousness. The shaman in fact surrenders himself to the dance in the fullest sense, and it is this, combined with a high degree of sub-conscious expectancy, which leads him to enact almost automatically and certainly without careful forethought the traditional parts of the dance in their conventionally correct order. Further, the assistant, who follows every movement of the dancer, prepared to catch him when he falls, may also greatly assist by conscious or unconscious suggestion in the correct performance of these complicated possession dances. Again, we do not think there can be any doubt as to the non-volitional nature of the possession, by the *yaka*, of the bystanders, near relatives of the dead man, which may take place during the *Nae Yaku* ceremony[1].

One remarkable fact may be chronicled here, viz. that we 775 have never met a Vedda who had seen the spirit of a dead man, that is to say, no Vedda ever saw a ghost, at least in his waking hours. We have never been able to obtain any corroborative 787 evidence for Bailey's assertion that "the spirits [of the dead] 828 appear to them in dreams and tell them [the Veddas] where to hunt." Veddas certainly dream, but Handuna and his son-in-law Kaira, two most trustworthy informants, said that they did many places the flesh of the jungle cock is avoided as well as that of the domesticated bird. Many Veddas when questioned about fowl said, that though they did not eat it themselves other Veddas would, and some alleged that the reason for their abstinence was that fowls eat dirt. The lay members of the Sitala Wanniya community had no objection to eating fowl, though Handuna avoided it because he was a shaman. 262

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[1] There was nothing about the general behaviour of any of the Veddas with whom [158] we came in contact that suggested a specially neurotic or hysterical tendency. The graver stigmata of hysteria such as would warrant a diagnosis of functional disease were always absent and the Veddas, even when ill, were in no sense fuss makers or inclined to magnify their ailments in the way so many Melanesians do. We are indebted to Dr C. S. Myers for the suggestion that possession by the *yaka* can best be explained as an affection (dissociation) of altered personality. If this be so the condition is comparable to a number of well-known cases in the sphere of mental pathology.

Further, those Veddas who eat fowl, avoid eating it when about to take part in a dance. When discussing this matter at Sitala Wanniya, Vela, who was not a shaman, was about to take part in the Dola Yaka ceremony described in Chapter IX, and it was then explained that this day he must avoid fowl, though at other times it would not matter if he were to eat it or not. The reason was not clear, while one man said that it was because the *yaku* did not like fowl, and so would not readily enter him after he had eaten it, another said that should a man become possessed after eating fowl it might be difficult to regain consciousness. It is equally necessary for shamans to avoid eating pig, though the reason for this was more definitely stated, namely, that the *yaku* disliked this animal. 262 787

Although shamans will not eat pig, they have no scruples with regard to killing it, but they must not touch it or cut it up. If they were to neglect this observance they would be ill and shiver for four or five days afterwards, even when seated comfortably in the cave. The arrow with which a pig had been killed must be cleaned by a man who is not a shaman, and may then be used again by the shaman. The shaman of the sophisticated Veddas said that he would eat only rice, coconut milk, salt, bananas and cow's milk for some days before invoking the *yaku*, and this man insisted on having a daily ration of rice for several days before the *Nae Yaku* ceremony held after the death of Tuta. But as all these foods are foreign to the wilder Veddas and must be obtained by trade, these abstinences have assuredly been introduced, and certainly no custom of this sort is observed at Sitala Wanniya or even at Henebedda. 262 791

The suggestion that these prohibitions have been taken over from Hinduism will not explain the equally strong objection to 262

301 among the wilder Veddas at the present day. It therefore
appears that although beads are worn as ornaments by the
members of certain communities in the Bintenne there is no
[184] evidence for their use as such among the Veddas to the east of
the Badulla-Batticaloa road.

301 We may next consider certain facts which seem to indicate
that beads may be sometimes treated as amulets, or at least as
751 having magical power. At Bandaraduwa where there has been
a great deal of Sinhalese influence, one woman wore a piece
of knotted string round her throat which had been charmed
and put on by a Sinhalese to cure her of some ailment. When
we gave her a string of beads she was very pleased and immediately
broke the old charmed string and put the beads
round her neck in place of it.

At Bendiyagalge all the women were particularly anxious
for us to give beads to their children and immediately put these
round their necks, but those given to themselves were not
usually put on in our presence. In both these cases there is
only the suggestion that beads were regarded as anything more
than ornaments, and this also holds good as regards the beads
of bear's bone worn by Kaira of Bingoda already recorded,
but in the following cases the relation of beads to the *yaku* is
perfectly clear. The women of Unuwatura Bubula, though
301 they possessed beads of the same kind as those worn by the
women of Omuni, were afraid to wear them, and gave them
791 to the shaman to keep and use in *yaku* ceremonies. In this
village we found that women would not accept red beads as
presents because "they were afraid," though they readily took
the white beads offered them, and the shaman when dancing
to the Alut Yakini wore cross shoulder straps of old beads,
and similar beads were kept for Indigollae Yaka.

There is equally strong evidence of the definite association
301 of beads with the *yaku* in other communities, though the reason
782 for this association could not be determined. At Sitala Wan
niya a band of bast was placed upon the offering to the Rah
Yaku, and our informants said that they would have used bead
instead of the bast had they possessed them. At the sam
place when preparing for the dance to Dola Yaka, who giv

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793 **PRIESTHOOD**--specialists in organized religious activities (e.g., priests, priestesses, clergymen, rabbis, mullahs); status and means of support; selection, training, and consecration; hierarchical organization (e.g., chief priests, bishops, cardinals, popes); prerogatives and disabilities of priests; characteristics (e.g., sex, garb, paraphernalia); distinctive behavior (e.g., celibacy); activities (e.g., conducting ceremonies, preaching, teaching, comforting); special priestly personnel (e.g., acolytes, temple prostitutes); etc.

See also:

Celibacy	580	Shamans	756
Theocratic forms of government	642	Theologians	812
Military chaplains	709	Divinity schools	874

776 the inhabitants of Gongolla a primitive jungle village some 20 miles from the coast in the Eastern Province[1].

535 755 When the dance, of which we saw a partial rehearsal, is about to take place the inside of the temple is decorated with cloths and the green branches of trees including coconut leaves, and the model of the boat which commemorates the arrival of Kapalpei is hoisted to the top of the tall pole standing outside the temple. If the dance is undertaken in order to cure a sick man, milk is placed in the pot which is supported on the rough stand (fig. *Y*) mentioned above. The sick individual, and probably the dancers, are fed from this and at the end of the night's dance the last portion is thrown out into the jungle for Kapalpe.

[293] The dancers should wear a petticoat made of strips of coconut leaves and green leafy twigs of other trees, and it was stated that the ministrant wore these just as did the other dancers. After the dance a number of these ceremonial garments are preserved in the temple where they are allowed to dry. [782] Rice plantain and chewing material are piled on the *kudaram* during the ceremony and camphor is burnt. Kapalpe sees the food provided and the honour done him and is propitiated.

177 778 The stone *pilliyar* has been frankly adopted from the Tamils though Mr Kumarakulasinghe pointed out that no sacred Tamil stone was so rough[2]; further, according to the same informant Tamils do not dance round either *pilliyar* or *kudaram*.

793 At Kalkudah it was said that there was a special "priest" or ministrant whom we did not see. We gathered that in some way he officiated in connection with the land cultivated by the community and he perhaps corresponded to the Sinhalese *gamarala*.

535 796 Some idea of the actual character of the ceremony and of the nature of the *kudaram* and pole can be derived from the dance rehearsed for our benefit at Vakarai. Plate LXX, fig. 1

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[1] Cf. Brenda Z. Seligmann, "A Devil Ceremony of the Peasant Sinhalese," *Journ. Roy. Anthrop. Inst.*, Vol. XXXIX, 1909.

[2] This may be true of the Tamils of the east coast, but we have seen some shrines containing equally rough stones set up by Tamil coolies on plantations. Worship may be performed at such shrines, offerings of rice and chewing materials being made at them and afterwards eaten.

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796 **ORGANIZED CEREMONIAL**--systematization of religious ritual; ceremonial calendar (e.g., fixed and movable religious holidays, rest days, and festivals); detailed description of the ceremonies regularly associated with each (e.g., participants, ceremonial attire and paraphernalia, prescribed succession of rites, accompanying music and dancing, symbolism); church and temple services; religious dramas and spectacles; notions of propitious and unlucky days for ceremonies; etc. See also:

Agricultural ceremonies	24
Music, dancing, and drama	53
War ceremonies	72
Specific cult practices	78
Annual cycle of economic activities	221
Housebuilding ceremonies	342
Leisure-time activities	517
Secular holidays, rest days, and festivals	527
Spectacles	541
Weddings	585
Installation of chiefs and kings	643
Shamanistic performances	756
Mortuary ceremonies	764
Calendar	805
Rites of passage	88, 581, 872

776

presented to Kande Yaka the hunters would expect bad luck 782 in future, and might even be bitten by snakes or attacked by bears.

The *Nae Yaku* are the spirits of the dead, they must report 775 themselves to Kande Yaka as the chief of all the *yaku* and from 782 him obtain permission to help the living and accept their offer- 769 ings. Kande Yaka comes to the *Nae Yaku* ceremonies since the spirits of the dead could not be present without him. It was definitely stated that the spirits of the dead did not become *yaku* until the fifth day after death, but my informant knew nothing of the state of the spirits during this period though it was surmised that at least part of the time would be passed in seeking Kande Yaka or in his company, though there was no idea as to where Kande Yaka had his being. It was however stated, that the spirits of the dead were in hills, caves and rocks. The *Nae Yaku* including the spirit of the dead man are invoked on the fifth day after death. An offering is made of coconut milk and rice, if these are obtainable, but if not one consisting of yams and water is substituted. The shaman dances, holding in his hand a big ceremonial arrow for which no special name could be elicited, while the remainder of the community gather round. The shaman invokes the *Nae Yaku* and also Kande Yaka and Bilindi Yaka. The shaman becomes possessed and is supported lest he fall while the spirit of the deceased promises that yams, honey, and game shall be plentiful. He then sprinkles coconut milk or water from the offering on the relatives of the deceased as a sign of the spirit's favour. One or more of the relatives of the dead man may also become possessed. The shaman gives the relatives water and yams, putting their food into their mouths himself while he is possessed, and it appeared that this might cause the relatives to become possessed. At the end of the ceremony he asks the *Nae Yaku* to depart to where they came from and the spirits leave the offering.

Nothing was known concerning the Kataragam God or the 776 *[illegible]* ceremony, though our informants said that they had 776 heard of other Veddas performing this ceremony. Gale Yaka was not known, nor yet Wanagata Yaka.

535 for the simple scrape of the ground. After some time when the circle had become quite broken the three dancers grunted loudly "Oh-h-h," and held their arrows up to the sky toward which they waved them before suddenly falling flat on their backs. They were lifted up and supported by a companion, and they then approached the Sinhalese headman who was present and promised him and one of us a white buffalo each for the next day. This was done in a manner we afterwards recognised to have been an excellent imitation of the actions of one possessed by the *yaku*, though it is certain that this dance was not a real possession dance; while the condition of the pulse in the dancers, surprisingly quiet in view of the violent exercise they had taken, showed that the falling down was not due to exhaustion. In other figures no arrow was planted in the ground and the dance did not begin with a circular movement; in some of these figures the point of the arrow which is in the right hand may be lowered almost to the ground, and the obliquely inclined arrow swept forward and backward perhaps in imitation of a shaman possessed by Kande Yaka tracking the sambar in the manner described in the account of the *kirikoraha*.

THE KIRIKORAHA CEREMONY.

796 The pantomimic ceremonial dance by which the favour of the spirits (*yaku*) of the hunting hero Kande Wanniya and his brother Bilindi is secured is called *kirikoraha*. It must be noted that this term, literally translated, signifies "milk bowl," and though the presentation to the *yaku* of a *kirikoraha*, i.e. a pot containing coconut milk, is essential in several other ceremonies they were not called *kirikoraha*. The "milk" consists of the [272] fluid which can be squeezed from the shredded meat of the coconut and is mixed with water. If the coconut juice be not diluted excessively the fluid so produced has a very pleasant flavour, and in appearance is not unlike milk[1]. Wheneve "milk" is spoken of as offered to the *yaku* this fluid is meant: the "water" of the coconut is not valued, and though it may b used in preparing the milk instead of water (as was the case a

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[1] This is the usual method throughout Ceylon of making the coconut milk s largely used as a flavouring agent.

the Henebedda *kirikoraha*) it is usually poured on the ground 796
without any ceremony.

A description of the phenomena of "possession" of the Vedda 796
shaman by the *yaku* has already been given in Chapter VI, so 787
that nothing need be said on that matter in connection with this dance or any of the ceremonies described in this chapter, in all of which "possession" occurred.

The essential features of the *kirikoraha* are two in number. The first of these is the offering of coconut milk and generally [782]
of other food to Kande Yaka and Bilindi Yaka and sometimes other *yaku* regarded as their attendants. Secondly the pantomimic representation by the shaman, while possessed by Kande Yaka, of Kande Wanniya tracking and shooting a sambar deer. This pantomime seems to occur only when "possession" by Kande Yaka takes place, for whenever any pantomime of this sort was enacted, even in the most shortened and conventional form, as in the Nae Yaku ceremony (described on pp. 233 to 237 of this chapter), the shaman was held to be possessed by Kande Yaka.

We witnessed four *kirikoraha* ceremonies during our stay in 796
the Vedda country. One was performed by the Henebedda Veddas in thanksgiving for a fine buck which one of them had shot, and the other three were undertaken at our request, but we have no doubt that they were accurately performed; for the Veddas were always pleased to perform any ceremonial dance provided the correct offering were given, as thereby they gained the favour of the *yaku*, and it was seldom that they were able to offer such food as we gave them for the purpose. The *kirikoraha* ceremony appears to be held equally as a thanksgiving for game killed and in order to obtain success in the future.

The Kirikoraha at Bendiyagalge. A fine buck was killed late in the afternoon of the 7th of February, 1908, and was carried to a flat rock between our camp and the Bendiyagalge caves and rapidly skinned and cut up during the short tropical twilight. A *kirikoraha* ceremony was performed the next morning, before taking part in which all the men went to the neighbouring stream and bathed, and afterwards made an offering of food to the *yaku*.

796 Some rice with coconut and chillies had previously been cooked at the cave together with certain portions of the deer, the flesh from the head, sternum and front of the ribs, and the whole was brought down to the *talawa*. This food formed the offering (*aduk*), and the ceremony of *adukku denawa* or "offering the food" was performed before the dance began. The shaman, Randu Wanniya, squatted in front of the food, and with his hands together repeated a dedicatory invocation to Kande Yaka and Bilindi Yaka, which lasted nearly ten minutes, and consisted mainly, if not entirely, of repetitions of invocation No. XIX. It was performed in gratitude for all deer and sambar killed, and in it the *yaku* were invited to accept the offering of food which was left for them for a short time and afterwards eaten by the Veddas themselves. Fig. 2 of Plate XXVIII shows the shaman invoking the *yaku* with the offering in front of him. This ceremony, called *adukku denawa* (literally "the giving of cooked food"), is always held before a *kirikoraha* when game has been killed, but it is not itself part of the latter ceremony.

An open part of the *talawa* near the caves was selected as a dancing ground, and a tripod called *mukkaliya* was made by binding three sticks together on which an earthen pot, the *kirikoraha*, was placed, and a ceremonial arrow (*aude*) laid upon it.

The shaman took a coconut and the *aude*, held them to his head and salaamed while Poromala smeared some resin on a stick and afterwards censed the *aude* which was held so that the smoke might eddy round it, for thus would Kande Yaka smell the incense and be pleased (Plate XXIX, fig. 1). At the same time the shaman repeated the invocation (No. XIX) to Kande Yaka.

This appeared to be one of the many incidents pointing to the fact that when *yaku* are invoked they first come to their special vehicles (Kande always to an *aude*, other *yaku* to leaves, swords and various articles), and from these enter the person of the shaman.

796 All sang the invocation, and the shaman danced round the
tripod holding the *aude* and coconut together in both hands and
535 waving them rhythmically as he performed the orthodox Vedda
787 step, i.e. one pace with each foot followed by a couple of pats on
the ground with the ball of the same foot, every step being

Plate XXIX

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[417]

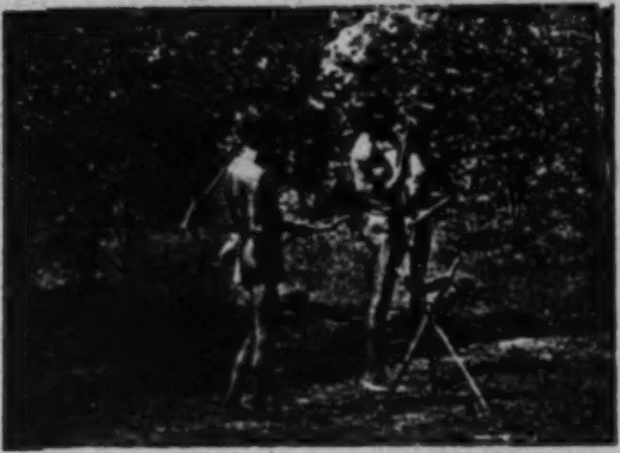

Fig. 1. Kirikoraha ceremony, censing the *aude* and coconut (Henebedda)

Fig. 2. Kirikoraha ceremony, the shaman dances with the *aude* and coconut (Henebedda)

[facing p. 220]

Plate XXX

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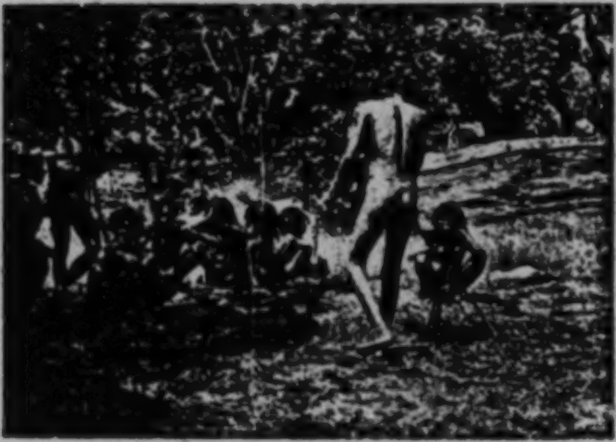

Fig. 1. Kirikoraha ceremony, the shaman dances with the *aude* and coconut (Henebedda)

Fig. 2. Kirikoraha ceremony, the shaman breaking the coconut (Henebedda)

[facing p.228b]

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followed by a half turn of the body to the accompaniment of sounds produced by some of those who were not dancing slapping their sides. The shaman next sang the invocation to Bilindi Yaka (No. XXI), and after a short time he showed signs of becoming possessed; he shivered and shook his head, and with the *aude* in his right hand he struck the coconut which he held in his left and broke it in half (Plate XXX, fig. 2), letting the water fall into the *kirikoraha*. The way in which the nut split was prophetic; if a clean break was made the animal to be promised later would be a female, but if the edges were jagged a male would be shot. The shaman was now possessed by Bilindi Yaka, and with half the nut in each hand came to each of us in turn, placed his arms on our shoulders, and in the hoarse gasping voice of the *yaka* promised us good hunting and protection from wild animals.

Two of the younger Veddas, Poromala and Sita Wanniya, scraped the meat of the coconut with the *aude* to make the milk, and afterwards placed one half shell on the end of one of the sticks forming the tripod, and the other below the *kirikoraha*. Leaves taken from any tree, but said to represent betel leaves, were also placed in the *kirikoraha*. There was no reason for the particular position of the coconut shells, but as they were considered part of the offering to the *yaku*, it would have been considered disrespectful to the *yaku* to place them on the ground. This rule was observed in all the dances that we witnessed. All sang the invocation again, and the shaman, Randu Wanniya, continued to dance, holding the handle of the *aude* in the right hand and the point of the blade in the left, turning it with a rotatory movement as he danced, gradually swaying his body more and more and lifting his feet higher from the ground. He went to the *kirikoraha* and inspected the milk, letting it run through his fingers (Plate XXXI, fig. 1), and dropping some on the *aude* to see if it was rich enough. Apparently he was satisfied with its quality, and soon he fell back into the arms of Sita Wanniya who supported him. After a short time he revived with much quivering of muscles and gasping for breath, and taking a handful of the coconut milk he shouted and approached Tissahami the Vedda Arachi[1] (who

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[1] This man, concerning whom something has been said on p. 41, was known to

796 535 787 was then staying in our camp) and scattered the milk over him, while with the right hand on his shoulder he expressed his pleasure in seeing him and promised him luck in hunting. Then after prophesying good hunting to each of us in turn and to several of the Veddas, Bilindi Yaka left the shaman.

Randu Wanniya again danced eastward round the *kirikoraha*, holding the *aude* in both hands, but soon he began to crouch and point it to the ground, and then pretended to thrust it at imaginary footprints (Plate XXXI, fig. 2). His excited manner showed that he was now possessed by Kande Yaka, whom he represented following the slot of a sambar. Soon Sita Wanniya took the *aude* away from him and gave him a bow and arrow, and the tracking continued amidst intense excitement (Plate XXXII, fig. 1). Sita Wanniya followed closely, ready to support the shaman if he should fall, while others pointed out the slot to him till at last, a basket having been placed on the ground, he drew his bow and transfixed it.

796 787 Plate XXXII, fig. 2 shows the group round the shaman as the arrow left the bow. As the arrow sped the shaman fell back seemingly exhausted and almost senseless. The *yaka* did not, however, finally depart from the shaman, but merely went to the quarry to ascertain if his arrow had proved fatal. The shaman soon came to himself, apparently satisfied, and bent his head (Plate XXXIII, fig. 1) over the *kirikoraha*, and then shouting "Ah, ah!" in the usual agitated manner of one possessed by the *yaku* came to each of us in turn and placed the *aude* on our heads, thereby granting us jungle favour, after which he went to several of the Veddas prophesying good luck in hunting to each of them (Plate XXXIII, fig. 2). Then taking the half shells of the coconut in either hand and waving them about, he danced round the *kirikoraha* and bent his head over the pot so that the *yaka* might drink, and afterwards fell into the arms of Sita Wanniya, who had been following, ready to support him. Again the shaman revived, and, putting his arms on our interpreter, promised him victory in all undertakings. Then returning to the *kirikoraha*, and having given the *aude* to one of

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the Henebedda community and was much respected both because of his Vedda blood and because of his renown as a charmer and medicine man (*vedarala*).

Plate XXXI

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Fig. 1. Kirikoraha ceremony, the shaman examines the offering of coconut milk (Henebedda)

Fig. 2. Kirikoraha ceremony, the shaman tracking the sambur (Henebedda)

[facing p. 222]

Plate XXXII

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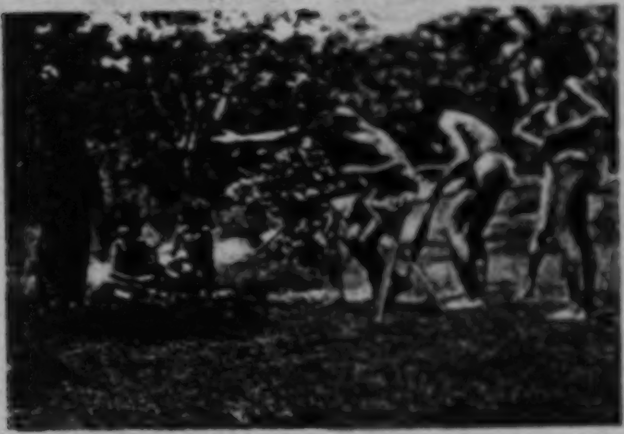

Fig. 1. Kirikoraha ceremony, the shaman tracking the sambur (Henebedda)

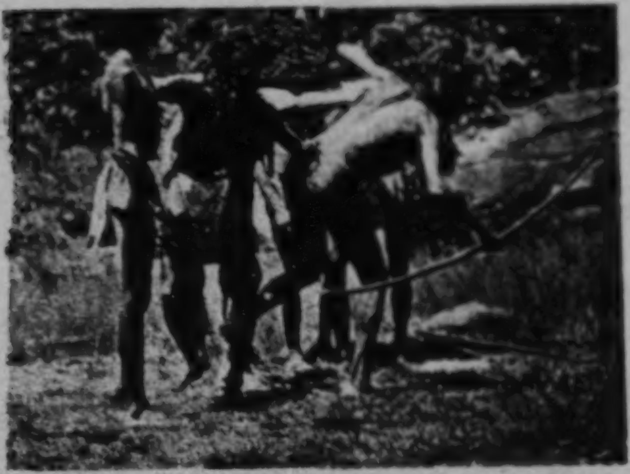

Fig. 2. Kirikoraha ceremony, the shaman shoots the sambur (Henebedda)

[facing p. 222 b]

Plate XXXIII

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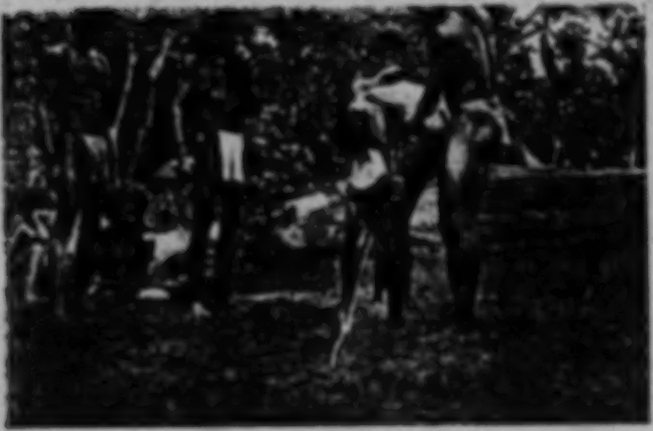

Fig. 1. Kirikoraha ceremony, the shaman bends his head over the coconut milk (Henebedda)

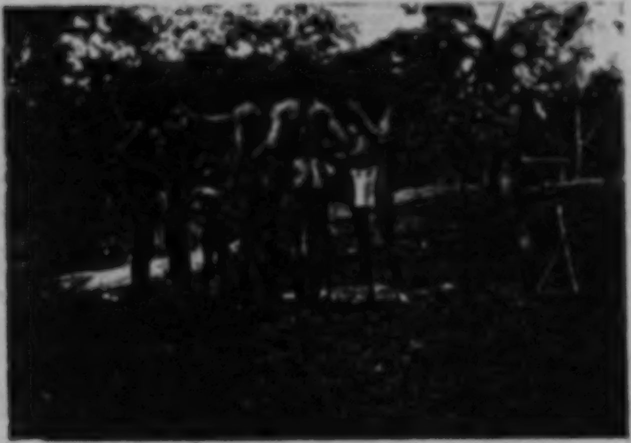

Fig. 2. Kirikoraha ceremony, the shaman possessed by Bilindi Yaka promises good hunting (Henebedda)

[facing p. 222s]

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Plate XXXIV

Kirikoraha ceremony, the shaman about to spin the pot (Henebedda)

[facing p.222d]

the onlookers, who were all willing assistants, he filled the palms 796
of his hands with milk and bounded forward, and raising his 787
hands with every step he scattered the milk, and in this manner
the *yaka* within him showed his pleasure. Next he took the
kirikoraha from the tripod with both hands (Plate XXXIV,
fig. 1), spun it on the ground, and immediately it left his
hands he fell back. The spinning was prophetic, for in that
direction towards which the bowl dipped as it came to rest, there
game would be found; and on this occasion it dipped to the
north. When the shaman revived a few seconds later, Kande
Yaka had left him, and he was possessed by Bilindi Yaka again.
With shouts, gasping and trembling, he came to most of the
onlookers and promised good hunting in the usual manner, then
he took the *kirikoraha* and spun it, but when it left his hands the
spirit departed from the shaman and he fell back.

The dance was now over, and all were eager to partake of 796
the coconut milk which had been offered to the *yaku*, for none of 562
it might be wasted. All the men took a little, and also fed the 783
children with it, but the women were not allowed to partake of
it. However, as the mere contact of the milk had virtue the
shaman rubbed some on their heads. In other less sophisticated
communities women were not looked upon as unclean, and they
shared in this and other food offered to the *yaku*. As has
already been stated there is little doubt that the idea of [177]
women being unclean has been borrowed from the Sinhalese,
among whom it is very strongly held. A little of the contents
of the *kirikoraha* might also be rubbed on the heads of the dogs
which were supposed to be more likely to hunt successfully
after this.

The Kirikoraha at Sitala Wanniya. Kande Yaka, 796
Bilindi Yaka and Indigollae Yaka were all invoked at the
kirikoraha held at Sitala Wanniya. Indigollae was held to
be the principal attendant of Kande Yaka, and though the
invocation sung to him refers to "seven pots of blood" our
informants were unable to give us any meaning for this[1].

Handuna, the shaman of the Sitala Wanniya community, did

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[1] This matter is briefly discussed in Chapter X after the invocation (No. XXXII) to Indigollae Yaka.

796 not possess an *aude*, having given his to a white man who knew
not its value, but since an *aude* must be used when invoking
Kande Yaka and Bilindi Yaka, Handuna unfastened the blade
from one of his shooting arrows to represent an *aude*. Having
put on the *hangala* he burnt some resin and censed the
kirikoraha. This had been placed on a support of the usual
form in the centre of the dancing ground, and the arrow blade
and some betel leaves had been placed in it. Two pots of
boiled rice had been placed upon a small platform or altar
(*maesa*) which had been built for, and used in, another
ceremony.

The shaman raised the coconut and salaamed to the
796 *kirikoraha* and then danced round and round it, singing the
535 invocation given in Chapter X (No. XVI) and exhibiting the
787 nut to the *yaku* and thrusting at the pot as he danced though
not actually hitting it. The step was the usual one with many
half turns and performed clockwise. Handuna now invoked
Bilindi Yaka (Chapter X, invocation No. XVIII) and soon he
fell back and was supported for a few seconds, but revived
almost immediately, when he became possessed by Bilindi
Yaka. An axe was given him by one of the Veddas with which
he hit the coconut so as to split it, letting the water pour out on
the ground. Then with a half coconut in each hand he danced
up to Vela shouting "Houh! houh!" and held the nuts against
his chest while with head bent and body swaying he said
"You have offered me coconut, and I have come, why did yo
call me?" For coconut, instead of the usual word *pol* he use
sudu ewa, literally "the white one" or "the white thing." Agai
he danced round the pot and bent his head low over it, in thi
way showing his satisfaction with the offering. Whilst h
continued to dance Vela and Kaira made the coconut mil
putting the remains of the flesh of the nut on the pots of ric
which had been placed on the *maesa*. Handuna now took th
arrow blade from the *kirikoraha* and danced with it, holding it
ends in either hand and twirling it round between his finger
taking it in his right hand, he stabbed sharply at the pot a
he danced round it, taking care, however, never to hit the po
He dipped the arrow into the pot and examined the milk on th

blade, then scattered it to show that he was pleased, shouting several times *Has Bilindi! Has Bilindi!* to which Kaira always answered *divas* or "Lord." He danced again, stretching alternately his right and left arms, and about this time Bilindi Yaka left and Kande Yaka entered him without any outward signs, so that we did not recognise the change which had taken place until presently he danced round the *kirikoraha* with one arm extended and holding the arrow blade by its centre. We were told that he was possessed by Kande Yaka, who in his person performed the traditional pantomime of tracking the sambar by its slots, pointing at them with the arrow. This scene was not acted so thoroughly as it was at Bendiyagalge. Handuna picked up a few leaves and held them across the arrow to represent a bow whilst he crouched in a position ready to shoot; then, dipping his hand in the *kirikoraha* he dropped some milk on the leaves and got up and danced. Filling the palms of his hands with the milk he went to Kaira and said: "The sambar you shall shoot shall bleed like this milk dripping." Coming to one of us he placed one arm on his shoulder, holding a betel leaf moist with milk in the other outstretched hand, and prophesied sambar to the bow of Kaira. With head slightly thrown back and rapt expression he told of Indigollae and the seven pots of blood—and now it seemed that Kande Yaka went and Indigollae Yaka came[1]. Before going back to the *kirikoraha* Handuna gave one of us (C.G.S.) a betel leaf as a sign of favour, and then taking another from the *kirikoraha* he allowed some milk to drip over it before he let it fall to the ground. Then with the arrow head he made two slits in the leaf not quite extending to the base, and again dipped it in the milk. Next he went to Vela and passed the slit leaf slowly over his head and finally slapped it on his chest. He did the same thing to Kaira with an uncut leaf, and it was noted that when the leaves fell to the ground off the men's chests they were picked up carefully and put in the *kirikoraha*. The cuts in the leaf denoted that the sambar promised to Vela would be horned. The manner in which the leaf falls is also considered prophetic; when, as in this case, it falls with its

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[1] His invocation is given in Chapter x, No. xxxiii.

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under surface upwards, the quarry will take long to kill; if, on the other hand, the leaf fall with its upper surface upwards, death will be speedy.

After this Handuna again danced round the *kirikoraha*, holding the arrow in it, and showed his favour to each of the male onlookers by passing a milky betel leaf over their heads and placing it on their chests. This was repeated several times alternating with dances and quiverings over the pot before Handuna finally shook his head over the pot and fell back with a shout, the *yaka* having left him.

Now Indigollae Yakini, the wife of Indigollae Yaka, was invoked, and we were told that Kaira who performed this dance would have worn beads on his wrists had he possessed them. He danced in the usual way round the *kirikoraha* with the arrow head which transfixed a betel leaf in one hand, when suddenly dropping his head over the *kirikoraha* he shouted and apparently became possessed by the *yakini*. Gasping and shaking he went to both Handuna and Vela and put milky betel leaves on their chests, and spoke to them, raising his arms alternately and shuffling his feet. He returned to the pot and danced, stretching his arms and then crossing them across his body as he would have done had he been holding a couple of *aude*, swaying his body and moving vigorously. Several times he bent over the *kirikoraha* and each time leapt back with a shout and danced again. At last Handuna pointed to the offering of rice on the *maesa*, which he approached and inspected while gasping and shaking, then evidently satisfied with this he sprang forward to the *kirikoraha*, dropped his head over it and fell back exhausted, but no longer possessed by any *yaka*.

The Kirikoraha at Uniche. The *kirikoraha* performed at Maha Oya by Wannaku of Uniche seemed to be intermediate between the ceremony of the wilder Veddas where the original idea, namely Kande Yaka tracking the elk, was the dominan feature, and that danced by the village Veddas at Unuwatura Bubula where this *motif* was omitted.

A *maesa* was built (though not elaborated into a *balutyakam* as at Unuwatura Bubula), a white cloth was laid over it an betel leaves, areca nuts, bananas, coconuts, and two pots o

cooked rice were placed on it, as well as the *kirikoraha* itself 796
containing the coconut milk, in which two *aude* had been 535
placed. All these offerings were then covered with a red cloth, 787
the red colour being said to be necessary.

Before describing the dance it must be explained that the Uniche Veddas had come to Maha Oya, some twenty-four miles from their home, and the shaman had not brought his *aude* with him, so we offered to lend him two, a small one we had collected at Unuwatura Bubula, and a particularly fine one lent to us by Tissahami, the Vedda Arachi, the Sinhalese headman already referred to, who in his youth had lived a great deal among Veddas, and from whom he had received the *aude*. This *aude*, evidently an old one, pleased Wannaku greatly and he exclaimed with joy: "This is indeed an *aude* for Kande Yaka[1]." We did not tell him whence we had obtained them, but he seemed impressed that a white man should possess such a good Vedda *aude*.

Wannaku put on the *hangala* and salaamed to the *maesa*. and whilst the drum was beaten sang the invocation given in Chapter x, No. xxii, to Bilindi Yaka. He danced in front of the *maesa* facing east, slowly at first, but gradually he began to sway his body more rapidly and with greater vigour and soon became possessed by Bilindi Yaka. The shaman now picked up the large *aude* and, after dancing with it in his hands for a few seconds, flung it from him to the ground with disgust, exclaiming angrily: "This is not my arrow, this has been used by a Sinhalese." Someone handed him the small *aude* and he seemed satisfied and danced with this. Of course it was quite possible for Wannaku to have discovered the history of the *aude* from our servants or from the villagers, or it may even have been mentioned quite casually in conversation with them and not have made much impression on him at the time, but flashing into consciousness in the excitement of the dance it may have appeared an important and till then unknown fact. On questioning Wannaku after the dance he denied any previous knowledge but said quite simply that he was possessed

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[1] However, when the dance took place the next day he used this *aude* when invoking Bilindi Yaka.

796 by Bilindi Yaka and "as a man knows his own betel pouch so
535 Bilindi Yaka would know his own *aude*."
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The shaman bent his head over the *kirikoraha* and inspected it, then putting his hand into it he scattered the milk on the ground two or three times, before filling his palm with milk and letting it fall over the *aude*, in this way testing the quality of the offering. With the arrow in one hand he stood in front of the *maesa* shaking and shouting. Now he took a betel leaf from the *kirikoraha*, fixed it on the point of the *aude* and as a sign of favour put this on an old Vedda's chest, asking at the same time why he had been invoked: "Is anyone sick?" The old man replied that no one was ill, they had merely called him to take the offerings on the *maesa*. So the *yaka* was pleased and with rapt expression the shaman danced, and again dripped milk over the *aude*, saying at the same time that he must go. He repeated this several times, all the while quivering and gasping and saying that now he would leave, but before finally departing the spirit again showed favour to the old Vedda, influencing the shaman to put a milky betel leaf on his chest; then the shaman leapt back suddenly and the *yaka* left him.

After a short interval the shaman danced again and soon became possessed by Kande Yaka, whom he called by the invocation No. XVII; soon he made signs that he wanted something, when the Veddas understood that he lacked a second *aude*, and not having another, one of the Veddas gave him a knife, which the shaman preferred to the rejected *aude*. He held the *aude* and the knife crosswise, these now representing the bow and arrow of Kande Yaka, and dancing wildly the shaman feigned to test the imaginary bow, then leaning both arms on the *maesa* he shivered and shook, at the same time declaring that the bow was a strong and good one. Again holding the arrow blade and knife like a bow and arrow he followed the track of an imaginary sambar for a few yards; he pointed to a spot on the ground and said the next *kirikoraha* should be built there. Then taking some milk from the *kirikoraha* he let some fall on the arrow and spilled some on the ground, and we were told that this represented Kande Wanniya drinking after the kill. After a little more dancing the shaman fell back into the arms of his supporter and the spirit left him. 796 535 787

The Kirikoraha at Unuwatura Bubula. When dancing to Kande Yaka at Unuwatura Bubula the Veddas made a *bulatyahana* (Plate XXXV); this, we were told, would be built when invoking many *yaka*, but the *kirikoraha* would never be danced without it. The *bulatyahana* seemed to be an elaborated *maesa* with the framework carried up to form a back and slanting roof over which a cloth, specially kept for this purpose, was hung and fastened down. On the shelf of the *bulatyahana* two *aude* and a trident of the ordinary Hindu pattern were placed together with betel leaves and areca nut. The *kirikoraha* containing coconut milk and betel leaves stood on a rice-mortar beside it and a pot of cooked rice was put on the ground.

The shaman danced in front of the *bulatyahana* holding in his hands a new piece of cloth (a coloured handkerchief which we gave him) specially obtained for the purpose. He swayed his body and raised the cloth to his head while lifting his feet and patting the ground alternately with his right and left foot, but not moving from the front of the *bulatyahana*, that is to say confining his dancing to a space three or four feet long. He exchanged the handkerchief for the trident and placing a betel leaf on the point he danced with this and soon became possessed by Kande Yaka. Putting his hands into the *kirikoraha*, he examined the milk and expressed his satisfaction by shouting and clapping his hands. Again he danced to and fro in front of the *bulatyahana* with the trident in his hand. The *kirikoraha* was taken off the rice-mortar and put on the *bulatyahana*, and the pot of cooked rice was put in its place on the rice-mortar.

The dancer then approached a sick shaman who, as mentioned on p. 263, had coughed up a considerable amount of blood at the end of the *alutyakagama* ceremony performed previously, and fed him with some rice which he brought to him in a betel leaf. In this way Kande Yaka showed his benevolence towards the sick man, for it was considered that the *yaka* food would cure him. Returning to the *bulatyahana* the shaman quivered and shook his head and examined the 755

796 535 787 rice, then he came to us and in the usual agitated manner of one possessed by the *yaku* said that he had come because we had asked for him. After some more dancing a little longer in front of the *bulatyahana* and after much bending and shaking over it and the rice put the *yaka* of Kande Wanniya left the shaman and the ceremony ended.

NAE YAKU CEREMONIES.

769 535 The large part the *Nae Yaku* play in the life of the Veddas and the great deference paid to them have been treated in the chapters on religion. We witnessed two *Nae Yaku* ceremonies which took place at Sitala Wanniya and Bandaraduwa respectively. The Bandaraduwa ceremony was performed on the seventh day after the death of the individual whose spirit was invoked, and we were allowed to prepare a dancing ground in the jungle, where it seemed that a tolerably good series of photographs might be obtained. However, the Veddas were obviously apprehensive of the spirit of the deceased until the ceremony had taken place, and insisted on performing it early in the morning with the result that the photographs obtained were all underexposed. We have however thought it best to publish a number of these without retouching them, an exception being made in the case of the two photographs reproduced in Plates XXXVI, fig. 2, and XXXVIII, fig. 1, the value of which do not depend on the facial expression of the performers while they were so underexposed that all detail would have been lost in a reproduction.

The ceremony performed at Sitala Wanniya was danced expressly because we wished to see it, but Handuna, the most important man in this community, was delighted when we suggested that they should dance to the *Nae Yaku*, because he said it would please the *yaku*, for when alone the community could seldom provide such good things to offer them as we promised to give.

Nae Yaku Ceremony at Sitala Wanniya. Although the Sitala Wanniya Veddas told us that the *Nae Yaku* could not come without Kande Yaka, Kande Yaka was not invoked at

Plate XXXV

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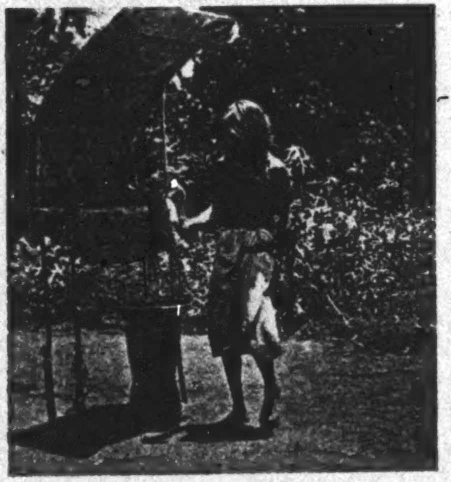

Fig. 1. Kirikoraha ceremony, the *bulatyahana* (Unuwatura Bubula)

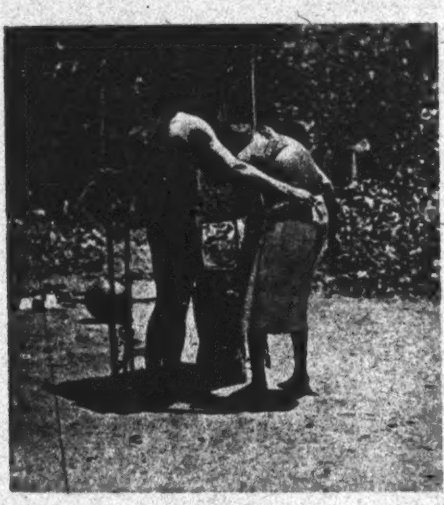

Fig. 2. Kirikoraha ceremony, the shaman before the *bulatyahana* (Unuwatura Bubula)

[facing p. 230]

to his assistance when he began to quiver and sway, then 769
moved and put both arms round one of the dead man's brothers 535
as a sign of kindness from the deceased. (Plate XXXIX, 787
fig. 2.) The brothers said: "It was good of you to come. See
we have given you food, now do not come back again," and the
yaka agreed. The shaman then took the *aude* and transfixed
a betel leaf with each and danced and again showed favour to
the relatives by giving them each another betel leaf, after which
one of the relatives danced, but the shaman threatened to stab
with the *aude* the men who were not relatives of the dead man.
(Plate XL, fig. 1.) Soon both the shaman and the two brothers
fell back and the Yaka departed from them. When the shaman
revived, he bent his head over the *kirikoraha* as a sign of respect;
then holding both hands over the rice pot he repeated a silent
charm, asking any of the other *yaku* who might have come to the
ceremony to depart peacefully. After this he fed each relative
of the dead man, holding the *kirikoraha* to their mouths, as is
shown in Plate XL, fig. 2.

THE INVOCATION OF BAMBURA YAKA.

/The Veddas invoke Bambura Yaka for help in getting pig 776
nd yams, both staple foods, the latter being an extremely im- 535
portant element in their diet. The dance is pantomimic, and 773
depicts a boar hunt in which Bambura, the boar-hunting hero, 796
was aided by a Vedda woman, who killed the pig with an
rrow she shot from her husband's bow and whose spirit is
herefore called Dunne Yakini (Bow Spirit), while the spirit
of this woman's husband who turned the boar with his yam
tick (*ule*) has become Ule Yaka, that is (Yam-stick Spirit).
This ceremony, though not so widely spread, is as dramatic as
hat in which Kande Yaka stalks and kills sambar deer. We
aw it danced by Kaira of Sitala Wanniya and by Wannaku of
Uniche.\

The invocation of Bambura Yaka at Sitala Wanniya. 776
The dance at Sitala Wanniya will be described first, since the 773
tory was told us here in its more complete form. Once long 796
go many Vedda men and women went out in search of yams,

776 and they took their dogs with them. While all were busy digging yams, the dogs strayed in the jungle and soon put up
773 a boar, to which they gave chase, giving tongue. The men
796 hearing the dogs followed them and soon came up with the boar at bay, which immediately charged them. None of the men could kill the boar, but a woman, whose spirit afterwards became Dunne Yakini, picked up a bow and arrow and killed the boar with the help of her husband Ule Yaka and his brother, who became Kuda Ule Yaka, i.e. Little Yam-stick Yaka. Although Bambura Yaka takes no part in the story as it was told us, he is the important *yaka* of the ceremony; it is he who is especially invoked, Dunne Yakini, her husband and brother-in-law coming in as his attendants, as do a varying number of other *yaku*, presumably the spirits of those who joined in the boar hunt[1].

535 During the dance Bambura Yaka and all his attendants
796. were present, so that it was not at all clear which part of the dance represented the actions of Bambura Yaka himself, since after the first complete possession *yaku* entered and departed from the shaman without any obvious signs. But we were told after the dance that Bambura was returning to his cave at Lewangala carrying yams and a couple of the large monito lizards when he came across the hunt.

The properties for this dance are rather complicated and were carefully prepared on the dancing ground, all the men helping in the work and charms being sung the while. The necessary sticks were cut and two flat reddish stones found by a stream were placed below the *maesa* which was built with a double platform, a bundle of grass, leaves and twigs bound together to represent the boar being suspended from the lowe platform. The stones were called Kuda Lewangala and Mah Lewangala respectively, and represented the red rocks or rocky hills of Lewangala, the unknown land in which Bambura live and which is still the chief abiding place of his *yaka*. Th majority of these properties are well seen in Plate XLIV, fig.

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[1] We may here refer to a matter we discuss at greater length in Chapter x. It certain that the invocations (Nos. XXVII and XXVIII) used at the Bambura Ya ceremony and specially addressed to Bambura, which were only partially underst by those who sang them, originally applied to honey collecting.

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On the stones Handuna and Kaira mixed their pigments, lime, turmeric, water and charcoal, while all chanting together they decorated with spots and bars the various sticks which were to form the bows, arrows, yam sticks and carrying sticks sacred to the *yaku* who were soon to be invoked[1].

As already stated the boar was suspended below the *maesa* by a creeper, and another creeper fastened to the "boar" was held by a small boy who stood a little back in the bush.

The objects prepared for the Bambura Yaka dance at Sitala Wanniya were as follows:

(i) The *mulpola itiya*; the meaning of these words is doubtful, though *itiya* was said to signify an ancient weapon. This was said to be for the use of Mulpola Itiya Yaka, and is a rough stick about 5 feet 6 in. long (figure 9 *a*) pointed at one end, above which the bark is shaved off for about 6 in., which part was decorated with bars of red and black pigment. This was said to be a yam stick, and it was explained that because of this the bark was not peeled except at the point, for a man would cut any stick in the jungle and dig up yams with it.

(ii) The *ule* (figure 9 *b*) or ceremonial arrow belonging to the Yaka is a peeled stick about 6 feet long, pointed at one end and decorated with rings of red and black pigment. Three pieces of bast are tied to the upper end, a few inches from the top, to represent the feathers of an arrow.

(iii) The *harimitiya* is a stout stick about 3 feet 6 in. long, decorated with rings of red and black pigment, and was used by Bambura Yaka as a staff.

(iv) The *haelapeta* (figure 9 *c*) is a peeled stick nearly 6 feet long, spatulate at one end and decorated with bars of red and black in the manner indicated in the drawing.

(v) The *ran kaduwa* (literally "golden sword") is similar to the *haelapeta*, and totally unlike the *ran kaduwa* used in the Rahu Yaku ceremony and figured on p. 256.

(vi) The bow of the Dunne Yakini has the bark stripped from the outer surfaces only, and is decorated with spots of red

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[1] On asking the reason for this ornamentation of the properties we were told that the *yaku* would be pleased when they saw the decorations, for the spots of pigment represented the flowers of Lewangala.

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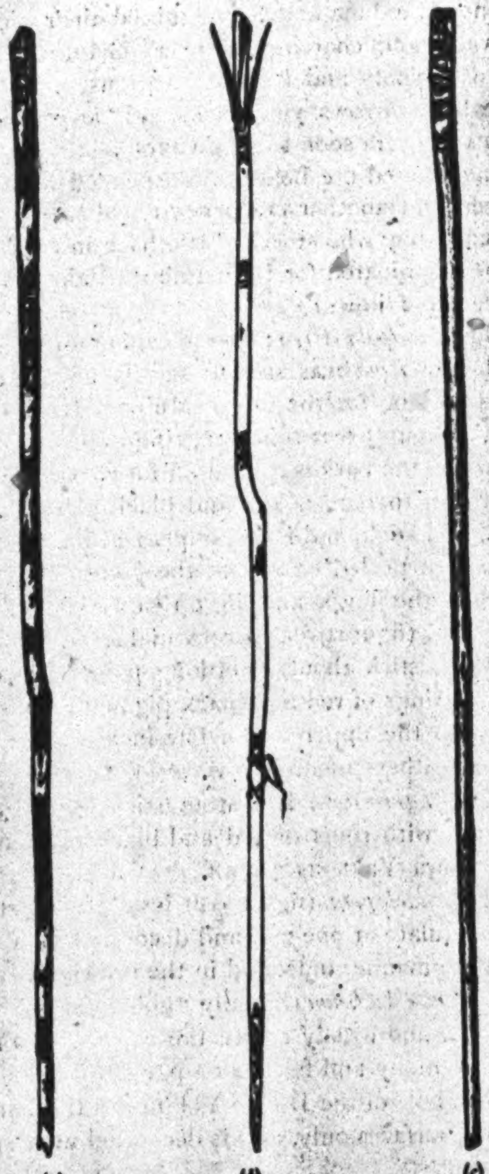

(a) (b) (c)

Fig. 9. Some of the objects used in the Bambara Yaka ceremony.
(*a*) *Mulpola itiya* × $\frac{1}{10}$. (*b*) *Ule* × $\frac{1}{10}$. (*c*) *Haelapata* × $\frac{1}{10}$.

nd black pigment. It closely resembled that used in the Bambura Yaka ceremony at Uniche. 535 796

(vii) The *tadiya* is well seen in Plate XLI, fig. 1. It is a short stout stick, and represents a carrying stick or *pingo* which s used throughout Ceylon; however, it was quite unlike one, as these are long and springy and resemble a bow; moreover, Veddas usually unstring their bows and use them as carrying sticks.

(viii) The *nimiti* or book (explained as book of omens, and said to be borrowed from Sinhalese ceremonies) was made of a couple of broad strips of bark in imitation of the *ola* books used in Ceylon[1]. [787] [177]

The *haelapeta* and *ran kaduwa* were said to belong to Devatayo of those names, but nothing was known about them. Devatayo or Dewa are Sinhalese spirits distinct from the *yaku* according to Sinhalese beliefs, but Handuna, our best informant at Sitala Wanniya, said Devatayo were the same as *yaku*. Obviously they had been introduced and assimilated to the Vedda *yaku*.

After all the sticks had been painted some cooked yams were tied up in leaves and bound to one end of the *tadiya*, and some wisps of grass were tied to the other to represent monitor lizards (Plate XLI, fig. 1), the whole was then put on the lower stage of the *maesa* with cooked yams for all the *yaku*, while a portion of yams was placed on the upper stage for Koriminaala Yaka, but no reason could be discovered why his food was kept apart from the rest. The dance began by Handuna singing an invocation (No. XXIX) to Mulpola Itiya Yaka, and Kaira, who wore a *hangala*, held the *mulpola itiya* in his right hand, letting the decorated end rest in his left, then he danced slowly round and round in front of the *maesa* facing east, the direction whence the boar of the story came. The *mulpola itiya* was soon changed for the *ran kaduwa*, and now Kaira made long leaping steps, widening his circle as he moved in front of the *maesa* and turning the stick over in his hand. At this time he becam possessed by Ule Yaka, and after dancing in a circle for a fe minutes he began to leap to and fro in front of the *maesa* and thrust at the ground with his stick, at the same time warning the *yaku* that the boar he was hunting was very dangerous and that they must be prepared to help him should it charge him. Then he approached Handuna and one of us, saying "The boar is very fierce but I will kill it." Again he went to Handuna and laid the *ran kaduwa* across the latter's chest and held it to him with both arms and repeated his boast of killing the boar, but he also begged for assistance if he should meet with an accident. He again leapt to and fro beating his sides, and taking the *tadiya* from the *maesa*, held it first on his shoulder then behind his head and brandished it in the air so that Bambura Yaka might see the good things attached to it, and if he were pleased with the offering he too might come to assist Ule Yaka if the boar should attack him. Then taking Vela by the hand, he spoke to him quietly and pointed as though he saw the boar, and crouching, he stepped forward noiselessly, but again sprang back and danced with the *ule* and *tadiya*, then putting the *tadiya* down, turned the *ule* over in his hands and danced with long leaping strides. Soon he left off dancing and merely bounded to and fro trying to thrust at the "boar" below the *maesa*, but the small boy holding the creeper attached to it pulled the "boar" away each time Kaira thrust at it. After a few attempts he came to each of us in turn, pressing the *ule* against our chests, and with head bent forward and taking short steps alternately to the right and left he spoke to us as though we were Bambura Yaka and said, "This boar is difficult to kill, grant that I may succeed." As he spoke he raised his hand and pointed. Then shouting *usi usi nam* (the words with which dogs are put on a trail) he called the dogs (mentioned in the story) Sanjala, Bahira Pandi, Neti, and Kali, and went through the pantomime of laying them on the trail, gasping and panting the while and hitting his chest saying, "This is a fine big boar and I will kill it." Again he leapt to and fro and thrust at the "boar" without success, then with a great charge and a shout wounded the "boar" and fell back exhausted into

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[1] The *nimiti* omen or book is perhaps the most curious of all the properties. It was said that Bambura Yaka could read and write, and that he was the only Yaka who had these accomplishments, though nothing was known as to how he had learned them. But certainly this part of the ritual was old and must be the result of quite ancient contact with a Buddhistic people.

Plate XLI

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Fig. 1. Bambura Yaka ceremony, preparing the *tadiya* (Sitala Wanniya)*

[417]

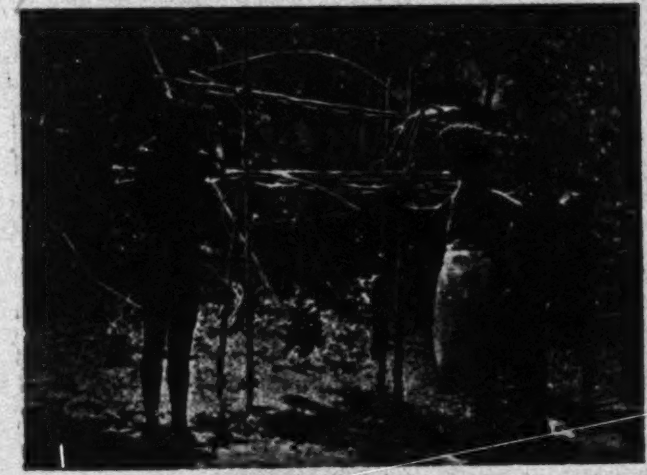

Fig. 2. The Bambura Yaka ceremony begins by Handuna singing an invocation (Sitala Wanniya)*

[facing p. 242 a]

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Plate XLII

Fig. 1. Bambura Yaka ceremony, the boar wounds the hunter (Sitala Wanniya)*

[917]

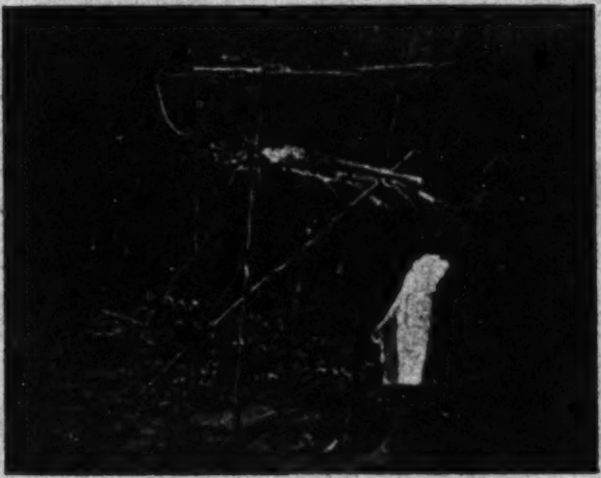

Fig. 2. Bambura Yaka ceremony, the boar is at length killed (Sitala Wanniya)*

[facing p. 242 b]

1:Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
AX5 Vedda AX5

Plate XLIII

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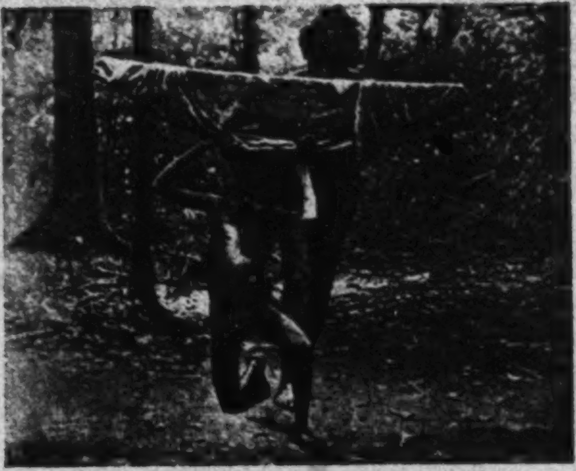

Fig. 1. Bambura Yaka ceremony, the bow of Dunne Yakini (Sitala Wanniya)*

[482]

Fig. 2. Bambura Yaka ceremony, Kaira dances with the *tadiya* (Sitala Wanniya)*

[facing p. 242 c]

the arms of his supporter. However, the "boar" was not yet dead and the *yaka* did not leave Kaira, who rested for a few seconds, and when he sprang forward with a shout and danced again and spoke to Handuna, saying, "I have succeeded in wounding the boar, now I will kill it" he was still possessed by Ule Yaka. Then the whole pantomime was repeated, the boasts, the attempts to kill the boar, and the laying of the dogs on the scent. At last the "boar" was wounded again, for a squeal was set up by the small boy who manipulated the creeper; then with a final thrust the *yaka* killed it, and as the *ule* was carefully withdrawn the "boar" gave a long dying squeal. Then the yaka left Kaira.

Soon Kaira began to dance again still holding the *ule*, and moving slowly at first but soon more energetically, and now he became possessed by Koriminaala Yaka. He danced as before, calling the dogs in the same way as when he was possessed by Ule Yaka and thrust at the boar in like manner, but this time the boar must have turned on him, as with a grunt "honk, honk," the boar swung forward and Kaira stumbled and then hobbled painfully supporting himself on the *ule*, his right leg dragging stiffly on the ground (Plate XLII, fig. 1).

The other men came forward and "medicined" the leg, that is, while one of them supported Kaira the other took a leaf and hurriedly wiped the limb from the back of the knee downwards. This evidently cured him, and he made another attempt to kill the boar, and was again wounded and again cured in the same way. Then he made one more charge, and the *ule* pierced the back of the "boar," wounding it mortally, and as Kaira fell back exhausted the Yaka left him (Plate XLII, fig. 2). As the *ule* was extracted the dying boar again gave forth a last squeal. After a short rest the ceremonial bow prepared for Dunne Yakini was wrapped in a cloth, and Handuna knelt down and held it on his head with both hands while Kaira and Vela sang an invocation almost certainly to Dunne Yakini, but unfortunately no note was taken of this (Plate XLIII, fig. 1)[1]. Kaira salaamed

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[1] There was some experimenting before Kaira took the bow; the plate shows one of the younger members of the community holding it, but as he was not found satisfactory Handuna took it himself.

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to the bow and said, "Behold this golden bow is brought, covered by a clean cloth," and taking it from Handuna proceeded to dance with it at first holding it behind his head, then bringing it forward unwrapped it, placed it on Handuna's shoulder, and spoke in the usual *yaka* voice. He again danced with the bow and tried the string, and expressed his pleasure by gasping and hitting his chest. Then he put it on the *maessa* and fell exhausted.

Although we have no definite note it seems quite evident that at this time Kaira was possessed by Dunne Yakini.

Kaira then danced with the *karimitiya* taking the usual dance steps but supporting himself with the *karimitiya*, and he soon became possessed by Bambura Yaka. One of the lads now held the *tadiya*, then Kaira made a mock search for it for some minutes before he took it from the child. He danced with it over his shoulder with body bent and the *karimitiya* still in his hand (Plate XLIII, fig. 2). He thus enacted Bambura Yaka returning to the cave with good things on his *tadiya*, and he shouted as every Vedda does when within hearing of home. Seeing the children he seemed to threaten them with his stick, and they ran away laughing; this was repeated several times. He tried to frighten the children away as he did not want them to see the food he had procured. Then he led Vela behind the *maessa*, and pointing and speaking in a whisper with a great air of secrecy told him that if he went to a certain place where "there was high land by a stream" he should find a wild pig and kill it. For pig he used the *yaka* word *kossa dikka*, which apparently means "long snout." He led Handuna in the opposite direction, and speaking with like precaution promised that he should find and kill sambar, using the *yaka* name *gowra magalla*.

He took the book, spoke to Handuna and Vela, and next taking yams from the *maessa* presented some to each of us and to all the Veddas present, for in this way Bambura Yaka showed his good will. All the time he was distributing the yams Kaira hurried, gasped, and trembled. Before Bambura Yaka left him Kaira hit the upper stage of the *maessa* with the *karimitiya*, and shouted "Hoi, hoi," to drive Koriminaala Yaka away. Then he fell back, Handuna took the *tadiya*, and the dance ended. 535 796

All the properties of Bambura Yaka and his attendants were replaced on the *maesa* and some water was sprinkled over them, this we were told being water for them to drink, for as no man eats without drinking afterwards, so the *yaku* require water to drink after food has been offered to them.

Handuna repeated charms over them, saying, "We have given you food and treated you well; if we have made any mistakes excuse us and do no harm to our families or ourselves." The whole ceremony was remarkable for the general feeling of cheerfulness and goodfellowship, jokes were frequently made, and obviously the Veddas had nothing to fear from the *yaku* in the ordinary course of events.

The Bambura Yaka Ceremony at Uniche. The dance to Bambura Yaka performed by Wannaku of Uniche differed only very slightly from that performed at Sitala Wanniya, yet in order to show these differences it will be necessary to describe the dance in detail. Wannaku, who visited us at Maha Oya in the Eastern Province, told us that Bambura Yaka was sometimes called Ala Yaka, i.e. Yam Yaka, as he helped men to find yams.

A *maesa* was built and leaves laid on it over which a white cloth[1] was laid, and on this yams, a coconut, and a pumpkin were placed, while some of the properties of the Bambura Yaka ceremony leaned against the *maesa*. These objects consisted of a roughly made bow decorated with bars of red and black (figure 10 *a*), two ordinary arrows and two long sticks which represented the special arrows of the *yaka*. They are well seen in Plate XLIV, fig. 1, leaning against the *maesa*; a ring of bark is left at the top of each stick, and this is split to represent the feathers of an arrow, the peeled portion of both sticks being decorated with bars of red and yellow pigment. The upper ends of these sticks are pared down so as to represent two flattened surfaces as is shown in figure 10 *b*, which is drawn 535 796 293

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[1] Among the Sinhalese and Tamils it is customary not only to hang a ceiling cloth but even to cover the walls, table and chairs with cloths when receiving an honoured guest.

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[293]

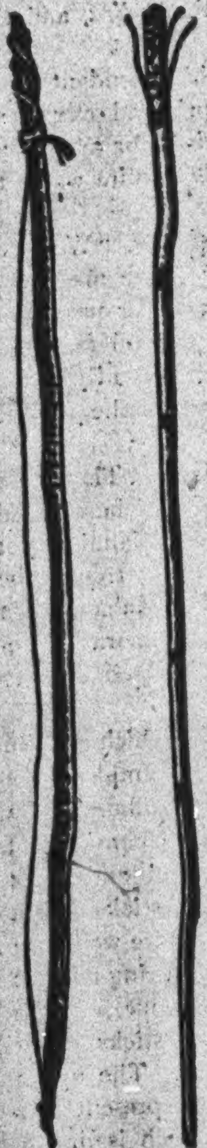

Fig. [illegible]. Ceremonial bow and arrow of Bambura Yaka. × 1/10.

to a scale of about one-tenth. Below the *maesa*, suspended by a creeper, is the *welemula*, which is merely a bundle of leaves filled with sand to represent the wild boar.

Wannaku, the shaman, put on a *hangala*, and salaamed to the *maesa*, and then sang a curious invocation (No. XXVIII), while a lad beat the drum. Wannaku now exhibited all the *yaka* properties, dancing with each in turn. Wannaku did not tell us the story of Bambura Yaka, and as our many questions did not elicit it we may presume that he did not know it, so we did not find out whether all the properties belonged to Bambura Yaka or whether, as at Sitala Wanniya, which we visited afterwards, some belonged to his attendants.

After a short time Wannaku bent his head over the *maesa*, shouted, let down his hair, and became possessed. He picked up each of the big *yaka* arrows in turn and danced with them shouting, and thus showing that he was pleased with them. Up to this time he had not danced round the *maesa*, only in front of it, that is, facing east towards Inginiyagala, the home of Bambura.

The shaman next took up the bow and arrow and danced wildly in all directions, pulling at the bowstring to see if it were strong enough, although he did not let fly. Being at last satisfied with his weapon he aimed at the *welemula* and shot, and although he hit it he only wounded the "boar," so the shaman continued to danc as though following the animal, but although he occasionally pulled hard on

Plate XLIV

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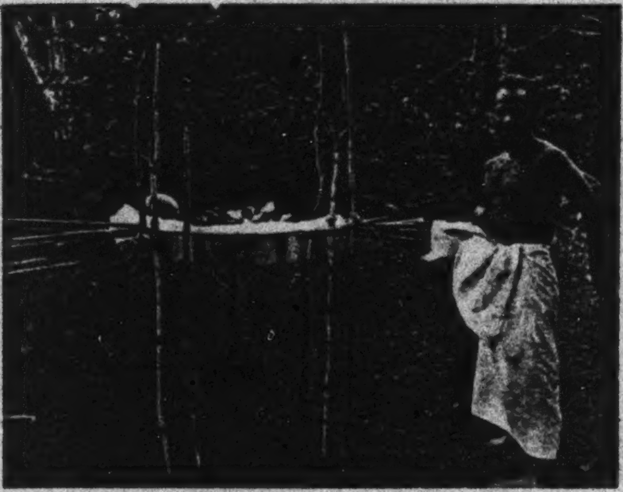

Fig. 1. Bambura Yaka ceremony, offerings and properties prepared for the ceremony by Wannaku of Uniche (Maha Oya)

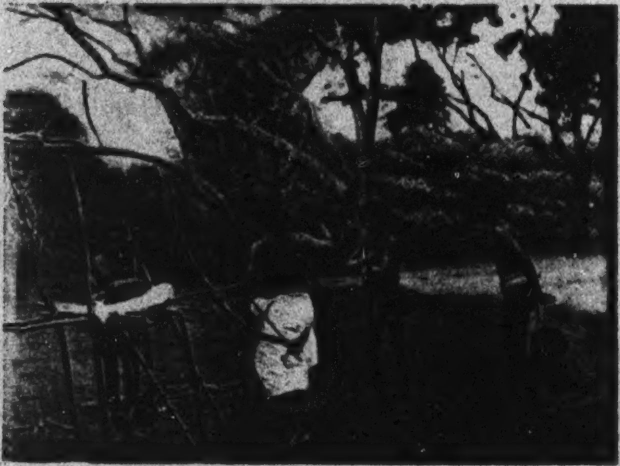

Fig. 2. Bambura Yaka ceremony, Wannaku kills the boar (Maha Oya)*

[facing p. 246]

the bowstring aiming in the air he did not loose his arrow. 535
Soon he slipped down on one knee letting the other leg trail 796
on the ground, and we were told that the wild boar had turned and charged him. Immediately one of the Vedda onlookers sprang forward and "medicined" the leg, that is to say, he wiped it down with a leaf as though he swept the pain from the leg to the earth, and the shaman, apparently cured, continued to hunt. Three times he shot at the *welemula* and hit it each time, then leaning back in the arms of his supporter he gasped: "I have shot the boar, now I am going." After more gasping and quivering he fell into his supporter's arms and the *yaka* left him.

After the ceremony all the food was eaten except the pumpkin which was left to rot on the *maesa*. Wannaku told us that the *yaku* would come and eat this, getting under the *maesa* and sucking the goodness out of it; the pumpkin would remain there and would look perfect, but should anyone cook it and try to eat it, he would find its substance was gone, so that it would be like trying to eat grass. As we asked to keep the bow and arrows, which would otherwise have been left to rot on the *maesa*, Wannaku sprinkled some water over them and muttered an explanation to the *yaku* before giving them to us.

THE PATA YAKU CEREMONY.

All Veddas recognise childbirth as a time of extreme pain 843
and even danger to women, and the individuals of the Sitala
Wanniya group invoke the aid of the *yaku* as soon as pregnancy 796
is diagnosed[1]. A week before we arrived at Sitala Wanniya this ceremony had been held on behalf of Bevini, the wife of Vela, who did not appear to be at all far advanced in pregnancy. On the other hand, Mari, the wife of Pema, on whose account the Pata Yaku dance which we witnessed was performed, appeared to be quite six months pregnant. The delay had probably been caused only by the lack of the good things which it was necessary to offer to the *yaku* on these occasions, and both Pema and his father-in-law Nila seemed very gratified when

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[1] We did not hear of this ceremony among the Veddas of any other group.

843 we provided the rice and coconut necessary for the ceremony.
796 This food is always eaten by the community after the *yaku* have
inspected it.

The *yaku* invoked to ensure safety during pregnancy and
843 childbirth are three in number and are called Pata (bark) Yaku.
796 No story could be discovered concerning them, nor could any
776 reason be elicited for the name Pata (bark) or the large quantity
of bast which is used in the dance. This can be taken from any tree in the jungle, and is torn into strips about half-an-inch broad. It may, however, be suggested that these particular *yaku* require the *inner* bark of trees as a resting-place just as the *yaku* invoked to come to the *kolomaduwa* or *alutyakagama* *yaku* come first to the leaves used in making these structures, and then may or may not enter the person of the shaman, while they may take refuge again in the leaves after they leave the shaman. In the instances cited the leafy structures were beaten with sticks after the ceremony to drive the *yaku* away; this ritual was not observed in the Pata Yaku ceremony, but it must be remembered that only three *yaku* were invoked and the shaman may have been thoroughly satisfied that they had gone away from the place, while, on the other hand, in the two other ceremonies we were told that hosts of attendant *yaku* rested amid the leaves, and that the more important spirits alone entered the persons of the dancers.

The properties used in the Pata Yaku ceremony held for
843 Mari at Sitala Wanniya were as follows: three stout posts,
796 which were thrust into the ground in a line; the tallest was
about 2 ft 6 in. high and the shortest somewhat less than 2 ft,
the upper ends of all being forked and large quantities of strips
of bast lashed to them. These bast covered stakes are called
[293] the *usmukaliya*, *medamukaliya* and *balakanua*, i.e. the high,
middle and young post respectively, and each one belongs to one of the Pata Yaku. The *wilakodiya* or *kude* (umbrella), which belongs to all the Pata Yaku, is a similar bunch of bast strips tied to a rather longer stick which is not driven into the ground. The *amamula* is a stout stick about 18 inches long, to which bunches of bast are tied at each end and doubled back so as to present somewhat the appearance of a dumbbell. All these

properties had been used previously in the ceremony performed 843. 796
for Bevini[1].

Two dancers must take part in the ceremony, and one of 843.
them should be the woman's father, whether he be shaman or
not; if the woman has no father, or if he is unable to dance, 796
her paternal uncle or her husband may take his part. In the 535.
ceremony we witnessed Nila, the father of Mari, and Vela, who was no relation to her, both wore the *hangala*. Nila also wore wristlets and cross shoulder straps of bark which represented beads.

As usual all the women and children collected at one side of the cleared space to watch the ceremony, and Mari joined the other women in preparing the offering of cooked food. An arrow was struck (Plate XLV, fig. 1) in the ground beside the *usmukaliya*, and Nila, standing in front of the three posts, began an invocation (No. XXX) which was soon taken up by the other men. Nila salaamed, took the arrow out of the earth and began to dance round the three posts, and then in and out between them, without observing any particular order, holding the end of the shaft with one hand and the head of the arrow with the other. The usual steps and movements were performed, the knees bent, the body inclined from the waist and swaying to and fro, the arms with the arrow between them being moved to and fro, but not raised higher than the chest. Vela followed Nila closely; it appeared that he should have held an arrow, but not having one, he did the next best thing and pretended that he had one, holding his hands as though there was an arrow between them.

Suddenly when between two of the posts Nila dropped the arrow on the ground and leapt over it. Kaira, one of the onlookers, immediately picked it up and returned it to Nila. Nila then dropped the arrow between the other two posts and again leapt over it. This was repeated several times, Kaira always picking up the arrow and returning it to Nila, whose movements Vela imitated. Although we asked numerous questions as to the meaning of this figure no reason could be supplied, "Our fathers did it" was all the information we could obtain. The movements had gradually become quicker and

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[1] See genealogy, p. 61.

843 wilder till after a final leap between the posts Nila fell supine
with outstretched arms, and was immediately supported by one
796 of the onlookers. The *yaka* of the high post now possessed Nila
535 who, after a few minutes' immobility, began to shiver and gasp, then springing forward he danced to the posts with shuffling feet and head bent forward, and examined each one in turn. This he did by dropping his head on them so that his face was partly buried in the bast, his supporter always close behind him (Plate XLV, fig. 2). We were told that Nila was now possessed by all three *yaku*, who appear to have entered him as he bent over the posts. The exact moment of the entry and exit of the *yaka* into the person of the shaman was often very ill-defined, although in this instance, and indeed in most cases when more than one *yaka* was present at a dance, it was clear when the first *yaka* arrived, it seemed that the other *yaka* entered the shaman without giving any immediate sign of their presence.

The *yaku* speaking through Nila signified that they were pleased with the posts built for their reception. Then Nila picked up the *wila* and shouting, apparently with approval, held it up by each end and whirled the handle round making the bast strands fly out, then he approached Mari and waved it over
[787] her head and rested it there, so that her head was buried in the bast for several seconds while Nila predicted a male child (Plate XLVI, fig. 1)[1]. Nila then danced to Handuna and waved the *wila* over him. No particular reason was given for
[654] this, Handuna being no relation to the woman, but he was the most important old man in the community.

After covering Handuna with the *wila*, Nila danced wildly, always with the rapt expression of a man possessed by a *yaku*, showing his pleasure by holding the *wila* aloft and whirling it round and round. Then Nila put down the *wila* and took the *audannala* and dancing with it in his hand he approached Mari stretching it out towards her, but he only stayed a few seconds and passed on to Handuna and falling on the latter's chest spoke and again foretold the birth of a male child to Mari.

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[1] The sex of the child is determined by the position assumed by the strips of bast as they fall over the woman's head. If most fall over the woman's face the child will be a girl, if over the occiput a boy.

Plate XLV

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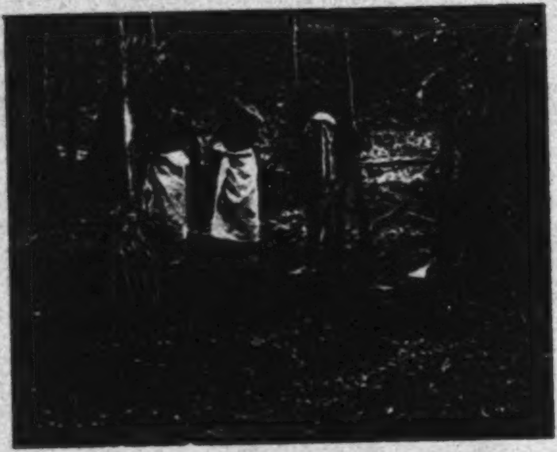

Fig. 1. Pata Yaku ceremony, the beginning of the dance (Sitala Wanniya)*

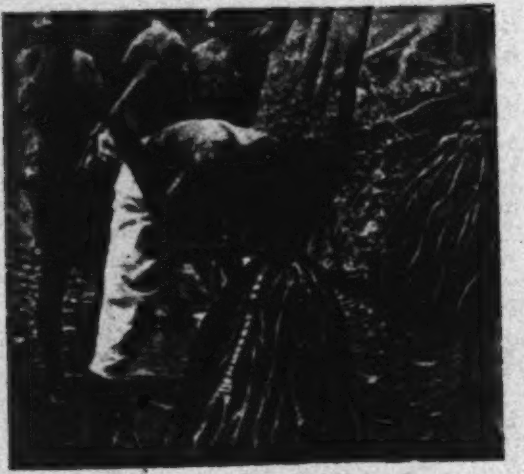

Fig. 2. Pata Yaku ceremony, the shaman buries his face in the *uswuhaliya* (Sitala Wanniya)*

[facing p. 250a]

Plate XLVI

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[787]

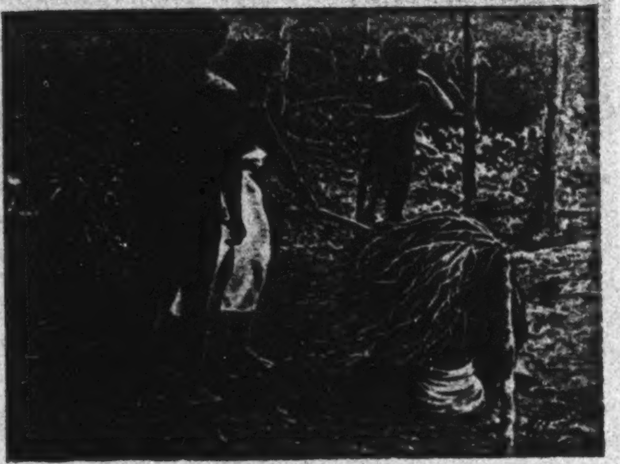

Fig. 1. Pata Yaku ceremony, the shaman predicts the sex of the child (Sitala Wanniya)*

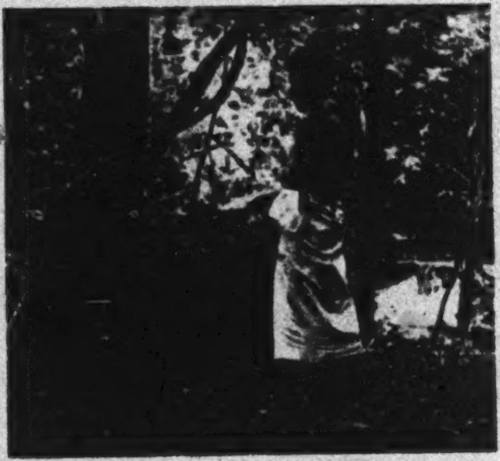

Fig. 2. Pata Yaku ceremony, Nila prays for his daughter's safe delivery (Sitala Wanniya)*

[facing p. 250 b]

Nila exchanged the *amamula* for the *wila*, and coming to 843
Mari again, raised the *wila* above her head and lowered it to the 535
ground, letting the bast strips brush her face and body and then 796
sweep the ground. This was done in order to wipe away the pain of labour. Then he leapt back to the centre of the cleared space and danced in and out between the three posts, hitting them with the *wila*. This was probably a sign of pleasure, for the driving away of *yaku* by striking their resting place would probably only take place at the end of the ceremony. He again approached Mari and fell back into the arms of his supporter, only remaining quiet for a few seconds until, trembling and gasping, he bent his head over the *usmukaliya* and buried his face in the bast. After doing this over each post he returned to the *usmukaliya* and said he must go, speaking in the usual husky 194
and gasping *yaku* voice; then he fell exhausted into the arms of his supporter. All the Veddas now began to sing the invocation, and it was clear that the *yaku* had not departed from Nila for he soon began to quiver and gasp again, and sprang forward and danced between the three posts; then he began to search for something, lifting the strands of bast on the *usmukaliya*, and after an exaggerated pantomimic search he found the *wila*, turning this in his hands so that the bast swung at right angles, he waved it over each of the three posts; then turning to the *usmukaliya*, bent his head low over it and fell back exhausted. The *yaku* now left him and he recovered consciousness without any quivering or trembling, salaamed to the *usmukaliya* and sat down to rest. All the properties were immediately piled together under a tree. It may be noted that although Vela began to dance with Nila, he did not become possessed and so took no part in the latter portion of the dance.

After a short rest Nila went to the pile and holding a few strands of bast in one hand (Plate XLVI, fig. 2) repeated the following prayer to the Pata Yaku for his daughter's safety a 539
number of times:—

Anē! mayē daruwata kisi antarāwak wenda epā mē wara.
Goda yanta denda ōnae.

Anē! (May) any harm not happen to my child this time.
(You) must permit (her) to land (i.e. to escape from her sea of troubles).

THE DOLA YAKA CEREMONY.

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Collecting honey is almost as important to the Vedda as hunting, for not only is honey valuable as food but it is one of the most important articles of barter, and every year at the end of the honey season the Moormen pedlar[1] penetrates into the wildest parts of the jungle with iron, cloth, pots and beads to exchange for the highly prized jungle honey.

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Nor is honey collecting without risk, for the "Little People of the Rocks" can be very angry, and their sting is deadly. Hence the Veddas ask for success in honey collecting from their natural protectors the *yaku*, and Dola Yaka is especially invoked for this purpose. Although there is no tradition concerning his actions or his dwelling place his aid is invoked for success in collecting *bambara* honey from trees, and for the more dangerous task of cutting the combs from the craggy hill tops and rock faces in which the colonies of the rock bee make their homes. The successful invocation of Dola Yaka can only take place in the early afternoon at the time when the bees are most active in visiting flowers.

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A *maessa* with a single platform about 4 ft 6 in. from the ground was built, and two arrows were fixed in the centre of the space cleared for the dance (Plate XLVII). A betel leaf was placed on the top of each and pressed down on the shaft so that it rested on the feathers, and a small bead necklace was looped over the head of each arrow and rested on the betel leaf. These leaves were said to represent the large bundles of leaves which the Veddas use to smoke the bees from the comb, and the necklaces represent the creeper by which the twigs would be tied together and by which it would be lowered over the cliff edge. It was noted that one arrow was taller than the other, and we were told that the taller arrow was the one which would be used in cutting the comb, and that when the honey was taken it would be thrust through the withy binding the bundle of leaves used

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[1] The term Moormen is applied to the numerous Mohammedans who make their living as shopkeepers and pedlars. Many of them are proud of their alleged Arabic descent, but it is only in a minority that skin colour or features suggest Arab blood, and the appearance of the majority of Moormen scarcely differs from that of the Tamils of the East Coast, among whom their most considerable settlements are found.

1:Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
AX5 Vedda AX5

Plate XLVII

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Dola Yaka ceremony, the offering to the Yaku (Sitala Wanniya)*

[facing p.252]

as a smoker; the other was "just an arrow" and did not appear to fulfil any specific purpose. Small leafy twigs from the surrounding trees were placed on the ground round the arrows, and on these a number of betel leaves and areca nuts were placed as an offering, the twigs being a device for preventing the offering to the *yaku* from touching the ground. 796 778

All the adult men of the community decided to take part in this dance, as only those who become possessed by Dola Yaka would derive benefit from the ceremony, that is, obtain special favour and help from him in gathering honey. In order to provide a supporter for each man, the dance was performed in two parts, Nila, Kaira and Pema taking part in the first performance. The ceremony began by these men walking several times round the arrows singing an invocation (No. XXXI) as they moved clockwise and occasionally salaamed to the arrows. Soon they began to dance and at times passed their hands, palms downwards, over the top of the arrows. This was the old custom; the reason for it was not known. After a little while Nila fell and was supported, soon all three dancers became possessed and bending forward shook their heads over the arrows. Then Nila taking the lead, they all moved to one end of the dancing ground, where they assumed the strained attitude of men listening attentively for the distant hum of bees, with body bent forward, one hand to the ear and the other raised as if to impose silence on their companions. Suddenly they all leapt back to the arrows and danced round them wildly, and shook their heads low over them; again they listened for the bees and beat their chests with joy, crying, "We hear many bees, there will be plenty of honey." 796 535 787

Returning to the arrows they danced round them again, at times falling back into the arms of their supporters, and again springing forward to dance. Nila gave each of us a betel leaf as a sign of favour from Dola Yaka, and then spoke in a gasping voice to Handuna who answered him. All beat their bodies with both hands, driving away imaginary bees. Again they listened for the bees, and this time picked up some leafy twigs and pretending they were alight shook them beneath the *maesa*, which now represented a comb, but they soon sprang back and 796 535

796 535 rushed to the opposite side of the dancing ground to get away from the angry bees. After repeating this pantomime, Nila, with much gasping and shaking of the arrows, promised *bambara* combs to Handuna, wherever he went. More dancing round the arrows followed and another mock smoking was performed, after which the three men fled from the *maesa* brushing the bees away and even feigning to pick some off their bodies. Then they returned to the arrows round which they danced until they all fell back and Dola Yaka departed from them.

Handuna explained to us that in dancing to Dola Yaka it was usual to hold a cloth over the head, and that Dola Yaka had remarked on the absence of cloths and warned the dancers that evil might befall them if they were to slip and fall with their heads uncovered. So two pieces of white cloth were provided for Handuna and Vela, who put on *hangala* and repeated the dance. The ceremony was identical with that already described except in two respects; in the first part of the dance Handuna and Vela held their cloths in their outstretched arms, frequently putting them over their heads and always doing so when listening for the hum of the bees, and when they prophesied to their fellows each held his cloth so as to cover both the man to whom he spoke and himself. Both men, however, put down their cloths just before the end of the dance and, pulling the arrows out of the ground, went through the pantomime of cutting the combs from below the *maesa* with them.

THE INVOCATION OF THE RAHU YAKU.

776 796 Sitala Wanniya was the only place at which we saw this ceremony, though the Rahu Yaku were also invoked at the *alutyakagama* ceremony at Unuwatura Bubula. At Sitala Wanniya the Rahu Yaku are called upon to cure sickness and to give good luck in collecting honey from trees. It seemed that they were not invoked to grant protection or good fortune when rock-honey was sought, this being the function of Dola Yaka. The offerings necessary to propitiate them are coconuts and rice, and each dancer must wear a piece of white cloth and cross shoulder straps of bark.

The story relates that there was once three brothers, and one 776
day the youngest was very angry and quarrelled with his wife.
He left her in his cave and went out hunting, and when he 773
returned he found a strange man in the cave with his wife. The stranger escaped so quickly that the angry husband could not shoot him; but he then beat his wife, and though he did not kill her he jumped into the fire and was burnt to death and became Gini Rahu Bandar or Yaka. When they died his two brothers became Rahu Yaku also.

A post was placed in the centre of the cleared dancing space, 796
the upper end was split and bound so as to form the support for
a pot containing coconut milk, a few areca nuts and betel leaves. 535
This was called the *wilkoraha* (lake pot), for once in the old 778
days water was required to make the coconut milk for an offering to the Rahu Yaku, and as there was no stream near by it had to be fetched from a lake; hence the name *wilkoraha*. A *maesa* (well seen in Plate LXVIII, fig. 1) about 4 ft 6 in. high was built of sticks at one side of the dancing ground, and two pots of cooked rice and coconut milk were put on it as an offering to the *yaku*. A piece of bark to represent a necklace was put on the *wilkoraha*; it was not known why it was necessary to offer a necklace to the Rahu Yaku, but it was always done[1]. Wooden *kaduwa* (swords) were used when invoking Rahu Yaku; these were two flattened sticks about 18 ins. long decorated with bands of red and yellow pigment and with guards made of twigs of fresh green leaves. One of these *kaduwa* without its guard is shown in fig. 11.

The use of the sword (*kaduwa*) and the objects themselves 177
are both curious, for Veddas have never used any weapon but the bow and axe, and Handuna explained that though these were called *kaduwa* they really represented ceremonial arrows

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[1] It was quite clear that Vedda men never wore necklaces, but *yaku*, especially dangerous *yaku*, as the Rahu Yaku were declared to be, were sometimes offered necklaces or pieces of bast to represent them. Thus at Unuwatura Bubula, Indigollae Yaka was considered especially dangerous, and the shaman kept a particular string of old and highly valued beads and used it only when making invocations to this *yaka*. These and other instances strengthen the idea expressed in Chapter VIII that beads are prized among the Veddas for their magical properties, the idea of ornament being quite secondary.

796 or *aude*, yet *ran kaduwa* the "golden sword" is mentioned in many of the songs and invocations, so that it seems that the whole of the Vedda ceremony of the invocation of the Rahu Yaku has been taken over from the Sinhalese, among whom the cult of Gini Rahu Bandar occurs. This borrowing must have occurred in ancient days, perhaps as long ago as the time when the Sinhalese invaded the Vedda country and carved the drip ledges on the caves, for as already mentioned the Sinhalese Rahu Bandar has become identified with three Vedda brothers whose spirits have retained only traces of the fierce nature of the Sinhalese demon. Once having borrowed the idea of a sword (*kaduwa*) and invocations in which it was mentioned, its name would remain, though in course of time the implement would become assimilated to the Vedda *aude*.

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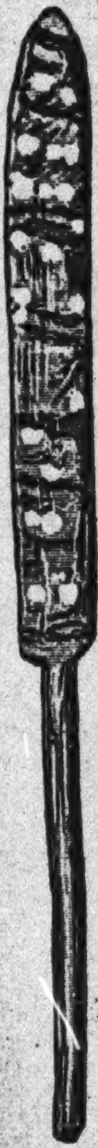

Fig. 11. *Ran kaduwa.* × ½.

Handuna and Kaira put on *hangala* and stood in front of the *wilkoraha* with the *kaduwa* in their hands, and Handuna began to recite the invocation to the Rahu Yaku (No. XXXV). Kaira took up the words and repeated them, always a few words behind Handuna. Soon they began to dance slowly round the *wilkoraha* holding the *kaduwa* in the same way as the *aude* is held in dances, i.e. right hand on point and left hand at the base of the handle, and as they danced they twirled them slowly in their fingers (Plate XLVIII, fig. 1). After a short time they both swayed their bodies more and the dance became more vigorous; then they began to shiver and shake their heads and became possessed by the two elder Rahu Yaku. They shouted, leaped and raised their *kaduwa* in the air, twirled them round with their

arms straight above their heads, and then stretching over the 796
wilkoraha exchanged *kaduwa*. They danced a few steps 535
and exchanged *kaduwa* again, and yet once more before they bent their heads low over the *wilkoraha*, by which action the *yaku* inspected the coconut milk and pronounced it very good. The exchange of swords was merely in imitation of the Rahu brothers who were said to have done this in their lifetime.

After approving of the offering of milk Handuna and Kaira, 796
both followed by their supporters, danced to Nila, and Handuna 535
placed his sword on the latter's chest while swaying his body 786
and moving from one foot to the other, prophesying that Nila would have good luck in hunting and would take many combs (Plate XLVIII, fig. 2). Nila answered; Handuna and Kaira still gasping and trembling said that the *yaku* possessing them must go now, and that their brother the Fire Chief would come. There was more wild dancing round the *wilkoraha*, and both men were so overcome that had their supporters not held them in their arms they must have fallen. We could not determine the exact time of the departure of the two elder Rahu Yaku and the advent of the younger brother[1]. Handuna and Kaira bent their heads simultaneously over the *wilkoraha*, inspected the milk, were satisfied and continued to dance, and while a bundle of grass was brought and set on fire they raised both arms, and after holding hands over the *wilkoraha* they rushed to the burning grass and danced on the fire till they put it out, then again holding hands they danced and bent their heads over the *wilkoraha*. More grass was set alight, and after repeating their dance on it both fell back into their supporters' arms. In a few seconds they sprang forward and danced up to Nila: Handuna spoke in the gasping *yaka* voice and covered the swords with a cloth. More grass having been set alight the dance continued as before, first round the pot, then on the flames, and then round the pot again. While Handuna placed his sword on the chest of Nila the spirit within him spoke saying he must go soon, but both Handuna and Kaira danced again before

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[1] It was perfectly clear that the idea of one *yaka* possessing two people at the same time presented no difficulty to Handuna and the rest of the Sitala Wanniya community.

796 returning to Nila and giving him their *haduwa* to hold. Th
they did because they wanted to put them down, and they co
535 sidered them too sacred and dangerous to be put on the ground,
796 or even to be held by anyone who was not a grown man wh
had frequent intercourse with the spirits.

796 Handuna took the necklace from the *wilkoraha* and showed
it to one of us (B. Z. S.), to whom he gave it, asking for a re
535 necklace instead of the bast one. Kaira followed Handuna an
gave to each of us betel leaves from the *wilkoraha* as a sign o
favour from the youngest of the Rahu Yaku. Then both wen
to the *maessa*, looked at the offering, and then fell back into thei
supporters' arms. We were told that the *yaka* was well pleased
with the offering and was about to depart from them, but Nil
sang the invocation and soon the two dancers began to trembl
and shake their heads, then shouting hah! hah! they sprang
forward and danced again. They picked up their *haduwa* fro
the *wilkoraha*, where they had been put for safety, this bein
considered a sufficiently sacred spot. Using the leaves whic
formed the hilts of their swords, they scooped out the cocon
milk from the *wilkoraha* and scattered it about, and those o
whom it happened to fall considered themselves lucky. The
the *yaka* spoke to Nila saying that he wished to go, and Nil
answered "It is well." But before the *yaka* left Handuna an
Kaira, the two men danced toward that side of the cleared sp
where the women and children were grouped together, raising
[755] their *haduwa* and pointing at the group. One woman wa
carrying a baby suffering from yaws, and Handuna held hi
haduwa over the child's head and promised that its sores shoul
be cured. Then Handuna and Kaira gave their *haduwa* t
Nila; both bent their heads over the *maessa* and the *yaka* left them.

796 The necklace was replaced on the *wilkoraha* which was pu
with the *haduwa* on the *maessa*. Handuna and Kaira repeated
a charm over them and all were removed from the maess
Handuna picked a few leafy twigs, put them under a tre
then took the leaves from the *haduwa* and placed them o
the freshly picked leaves, so that the hallowed leaves migh
not touch the ground; he then poured the remains of th
coconut milk from the *wilkoraha* over them.

Plate XLVIII

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Fig. 1. Rahu Yaka ceremony, the beginning of the dance (Sitala Wanniya)*

[787]

Fig. 2 Rahu Yaka ceremony, the shaman prophesies good luck in hunting and honey gathering (Sitala Wanniya)*

[facing p. 258]

When later we asked Handuna for the *kaduwas* as specimens, 796 the request was not granted until something was given in exchange to the Rahu Yaku, as Handuna said they might cause trouble if their property were taken from them.

WANAGATA YAKU.

The story of the Wanagata Yaku was that once a family 776 became imprisoned in their rock-shelter by the fall of rock 773 which blocked the entrance to the cave, so that the whole family died and their spirits became Wanagata Yaku, who are now invoked for help in hunting. In spite of this the ceremonial with which these *yaku* are invoked did not appear to have any reference to the story.

A sapling rather more than six feet high with its head and 796 branches was stripped of its bark and thrust into the ground in 535 the centre of the space cleared for dancing; its upper end had 778 been split previously so as to form a support for small objects, and long strands of bast were tied to it. A handkerchief was thrown over the top and pressed down between the split ends, and some betel leaves were placed on this.

The shaman wearing a *hangala* danced slowly round the 796 post with a handkerchief in his hand, while the invocation was 535 sung. The handkerchief was soon exchanged for an *aude*, and it was noted that this was not the same one that had been used when invoking Kande Yaka in a previous dance. In order to avoid putting the handkerchief on the ground the shaman tied it round his shoulder. Then taking some betel leaves he danced with these and the *aude* in his hands, then transfixing the betel leaves on the point of the *aude* he raised them to his head, thus offering them to the Wanagata Yaku (Plate XLIX, fig. 1). Soon he became possessed and bent his head, shaking his hair over his face as he clung to the post with one hand while his whole body quivered and shook. With a shout he seized two *aude*, and holding one in each hand came to one of us (C. G. S.) and holding both *aude* over his shoulders said, as he quivered and shifted from one foot to the other, "You have called us, what do you want?" He returned to the post, when a rice

796 535 mortar was brought and a bowl containing coconut milk in which betel leaves floated was placed upon it. The shaman placed a betel leaf from the bowl on the *aude* and presented one to each of us in turn, as a sign of favour on the part of the Wanagata Yaku, speaking in a hoarse gasping voice and raising his arms alternately the while. He returned to the post, and, grasping the bast streamers, bent his head (Plate XLIX, fig. 2) and quivered all over before dancing round it with both *aude* in his hands; finally he clasped the post with bowed head, and the *yaku* left him.

THE ALUTYAKAGAMA CEREMONY AT UNUWATURA BUBULA

796 The structure of the *alutyakagama* is well shown in a number of the figures illustrating this ceremony, and is especially clear in fig. 1 of plate LII.

It seems probable that this is not a pure Vedda ceremony, but is to be regarded as an amalgamation of a dance to Kande Yaka and the Nae Yaku, whom this people called the Alutyaku (i.e. New Yaku), and of a dance to Gale Yaka only met with under this name here and at Omuni. We were unable to determine whether the *alutyakagama* structure had always been used when dancing to Gale Yaka, and had been carried from his cult to that of the Nae Yaku, or had long been considered necessary for the invocation of the Nae or Alut Yaku. Perhaps neither of these events occurred; indeed, we consider it most probable that both dances have been confused with the *kolamaduwa* or one of its early forms such as the *rewala* ceremony which is described later on in this chapter, and which is almost certainly of foreign origin.

Unuwatura Bubula is a small and extremely poor settlement of Veddas, of whom a general description has been given on p. 47.

796 535 The dance began by Sela Kaurala repeating an invocation with a handkerchief on his head[1], while Naida Kaurala holding

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[177] [1] Unfortunately we have no exact note stating to whom this invocation was sung. It is most probable that it was to Gale Yaka, as this was the *yaka* by whom the shaman was first possessed. If this is so the fact of the handkerchief being held over the head is of interest, as Mr Parker identifies Gale Yaka with the Sinhalese Gale Deviyo who is depicted with a three-tiered hat, which is also worn by his dancer, called

Plate XLIX

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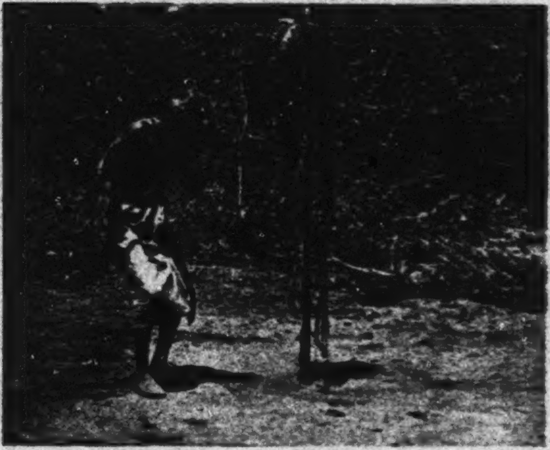

Fig. 1. Wanagata Yaka ceremony, the shaman offers betel leaves to the Yaka (Unuwatura Bubula)

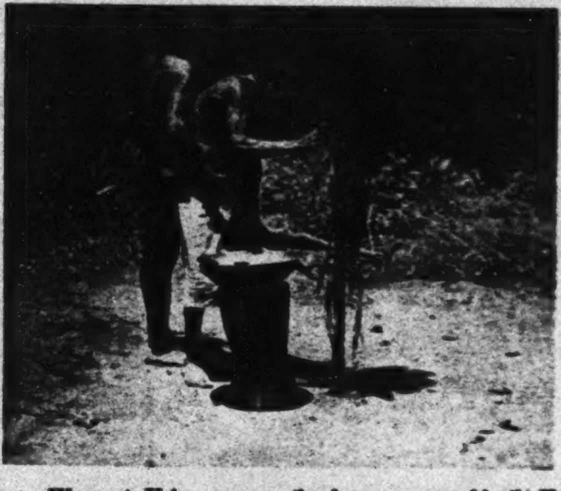

Fig. 2. Wanagata Yaka ceremony, the shaman possessed by the Yaka (Unuwatura Bubula)

[facing p. 260]

a handkerchief between his hands danced first round the *alutyakagama*, and then in and out between the posts, at times holding the handkerchief over his head (Plate L, fig. 1). We were told that these handkerchiefs would be kept apart for the *yaku* and would never be used for any purpose other than dancing. The shaman, Sela Kaurala, soon became agitated and was supported, and the Gale Yaka entered his person. Now he assumed the rapt expression of one possessed, pulled down his hair, and with a shout caught hold of the leaves hanging from the *alutyakagama*, where he continued to dance in and out of the structure, shaking and hitting the hanging leaves as he passed, but frequently stopping at the west front to take hold of the bunches of leaves while quivering all over and shouting (Plate L, fig. 2). Now a rice-mortar was brought into the *alutyakagama*, and the shaman placed the offering of cooked food upon it for the *yaku* to see and appreciate the good things provided. The *aude* was then placed on the rice pot, and the shaman, holding the leaves with both hands, shouted and shook his head, and then, taking an *aude* in either hand, picked up a few grains of rice on one of them (Plate LI, fig. 1), which he smelt, and although he did not eat them the *yaka* now pronounced the food to be good. About this time the shaman became possessed by one of the *Nae Yaku*. Three times the shaman inspected the rice, being possessed by a different *Nae Yaku* each time, and each spirit shouted his satisfaction. We were unable to discover the names of these as the shaman was taken ill after this dance, but there seemed no doubt that the dancer would know the *Nae Yaku* by whom he had been possessed. The shaman now wore two long necklaces of beads, putting them round his neck and under his arms, so as to form cross shoulder ornaments; we were told that these were for the *yakini*, but we were unable to discover whether this was one of the Alut Yakini or Gale Yakini who was mentioned in this locality.

The ceremony continued for some time as before, the shaman frequently shaking the leaves, shouting and gasping, and again inspecting the food. There was very little dancing, but this may

[illegible], when dancing to him. Sometimes, however, when a three-tiered hat could not be obtained the dancer held a handkerchief over his head.

Plate L

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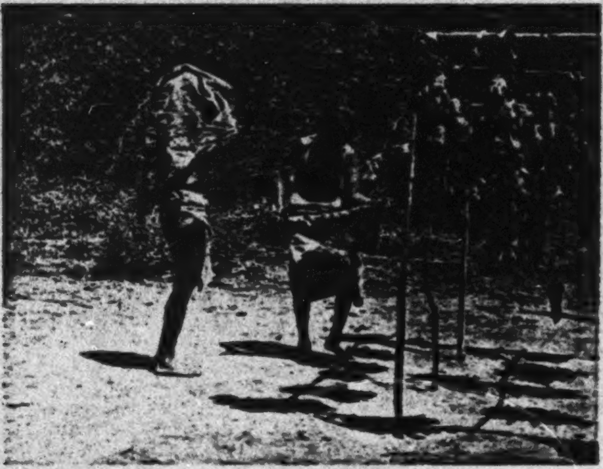

Fig. 1. Alutyakagama ceremony, the beginning of the invocation (Unuwatura Bubula)

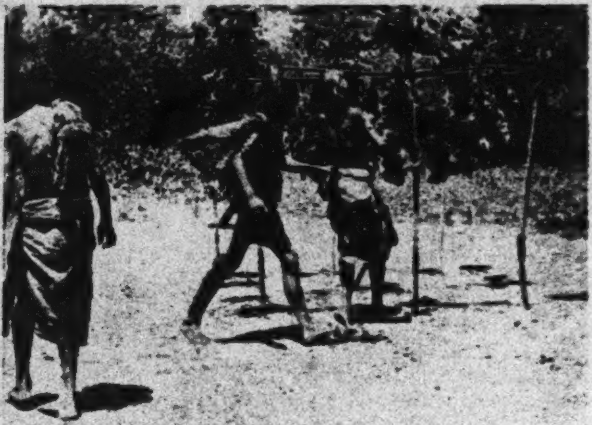

Fig. 2. Alutyakagama ceremony, the shaman and his supporter at the *alutyakagama* (Unuwatura Bubula)

[facing p. 261 a]

Plate LI

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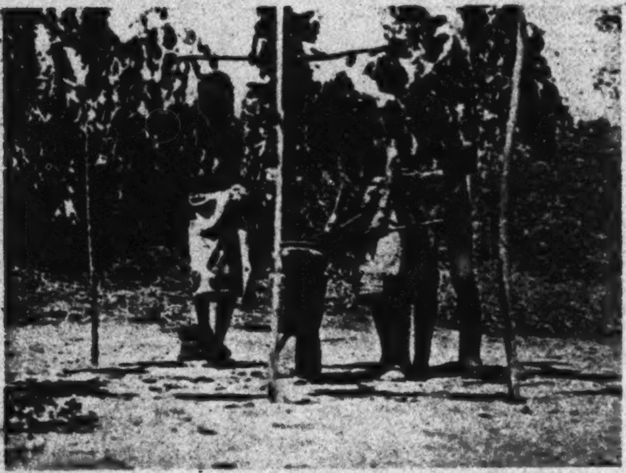

Fig. 1. Alutyakagama ceremony, testing the offering (Unuwatura Bubula)

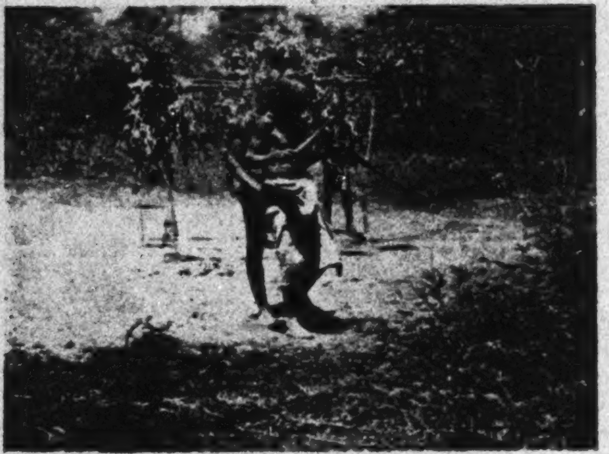

Fig. 2. Alutyakagama ceremony, the shaman comes to us with an *aude* in each hand (Unuwatura Bubula)

[facing p. 261 b]

have been because the shaman was an old man who suffered from a severe cough. At one time, instead of picking up the rice with an *aude*, he did it with the corner of his handkerchief. Great care was always taken that neither the *aude*, the beads nor the handkerchief should be put on the ground, and when the shaman wanted to get rid of either of the two former he placed them on the rice pot; at one time when he did not require the handkerchief he tied it over his shoulder, for to place anything belonging to the *yaku* on the ground would be to offer a serious insult to them.

After some time the first rice pot was removed, and a second one was brought. Sela Kaurala squatted beside it and sang, while Naida Kaurala danced with the handkerchief in his hands. One pot of food was for the *yaka*, and one for the *yakini*. The shaman exchanged the handkerchief for an *aude* and danced with that, but soon picked up another *aude* and danced with one in each hand singing an invocation (No. XXXVII). Now he became possessed by Rahu Yaka, with the usual accompaniment of shivering and quaking and pulling at the leaves hanging from the *alutyakagama*. Some grass was brought and put under the *alutyakagama*; this was lit, and the shaman danced on the fire: more shaking and holding of the leaves followed, and then with an *aude* in each hand, which he held by the blades, he approached us (Plate LI, fig. 2) and spoke. He returned to the *alutyakagama*, and, holding the leaves with both hands, bent over the rice pot, and then danced round and in and out of the structure, hitting the pendant leaves. Meanwhile the Rahu Yaka song was repeated; at last stopping at the west side he bent his head over the rice pot and fell back. After a short rest Sela Kaurala put on the *hangula* and danced in the same way that Naida Kaurala had done, becoming possessed by Gale Yaka. There was no exceptional feature in this dance; the shaman danced at one time with the handkerchief and afterwards with the *aude*, and inspected the food, and there was much holding on to the leaves and shaking and speaking in the hoarse *yaka* voice. Before the *yaka* left the shaman he took the rice pot from the pounder and spun it (Plate LII, fig. 1); the second pot of food was brought and he spun that too. After the *yaka* had left him the shaman,

Plate LII

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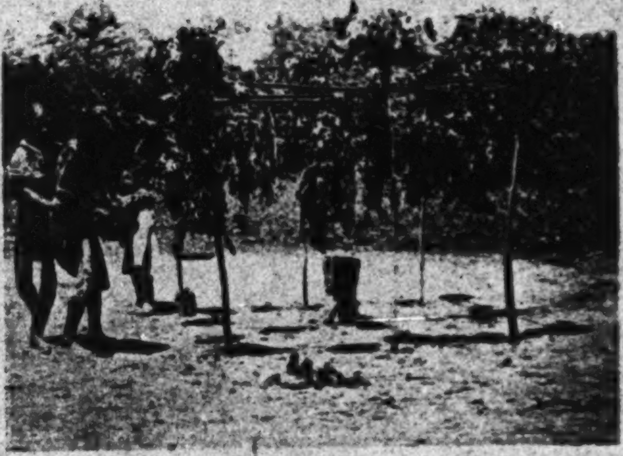

Fig. 1. Alutyakagama ceremony, the shaman about to spin the pot of food (Unuwatura Bubula)

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Fig. 2. Ruwala ceremony, the *vataula* prepared by Wannaku of Uniche (Maha Oya)

[facing p.262]

still dancing, stripped the leaves from the *alutyakagama*, and, holding on to the horizontal cross bar, shook the framework violently in order to drive away any of the *yaku* who might still be resting there. 796 535

[114] Unfortunately we were not able to get much trustworthy information about this or any of the other dances at Unuwatura Bubula, as Sela Kaurala, who appeared to suffer from asthma and chronic bronchitis, coughed up a good deal of blood after this dance, and was unable to discuss the ceremony with us afterwards. His pupil, Naida Kaurala, was not nearly so well informed. There were several points which we were unable to settle satisfactorily; Gale Yaku, we were told, were many and not one Yaka, yet Gale Yaka or Yaku seemed confused with Kande Yaka, for we were told that the big *aude* was for Kande Yaka and the smaller one for Bilindi Yaka. Nevertheless the shaman held both when dancing to Gale Yaka, and he spun the pot of rice, which in several other communities had been done by the shaman when possessed by Kande Yaka.

THE RUWALA CEREMONY.

This ceremony was danced by the Veddas of Uniche. It began by Wannaku, who was wearing a *hangala* of new white cloth, moving slowly round the centre post of the *ruwala* holding a bunch of leaves in each hand and reciting an invocation to Ruwala Yaka and Yakini, who live on Nuwaragala. He stood close to the central pole of the *ruwala*, and at first faced towards the north, that is, not in the direction of Nuwaragala but towards the quarter whence came the *yaku* who live on Nuwaragala and other hills who are invoked in this dance. These *yaku* were not the spirits of the dead, but had always existed as *yaku*. The original home was on the other side of the ocean in Handun Kaele, the "sandal-wood jungle," which the educated, but not the peasant, Sinhalese recognise as being in India. Long ago the *yaku* made a raft and crossed the ocean, and the sail (Sin. *ruwala*) and mast of their raft are represented by the centre pole (*ruwala*) of the structure of that name, while the streamers represent the "silver" and "golden" stays of their mast.

796 535 Plate LII, fig. 2 shows the *ruwala* built by Wannaku and his comrades at Maha Oya.

796 535 796 The dance began by Wannaku moving slowly round the central post. As he did this he sometimes waved the bundle of leaves which he held in his hands, at other times he held his hands close together in front of his body. As his dancing became quicker and more vigorous, Sina, his eldest son, placed himself behind him, and following his movements prepared to support him when he became possessed. Suddenly Wannaku fell forward assuming a cruciform attitude, his arms held stiffly at right angles to his body and his neck rigidly extended so that his head was pressed against the centre post of the *ruwala*, his supporter bearing the whole strain of holding him in this position. He still grasped the leaves in his hands, and his face was buried in the leaves tied to the centre post of the *ruwala*. He remained in this position for perhaps half a minute, then shaking violently he clutched the post in both hands. It was explained that the *yaku* were in the leaves tied to the *ruwala*, and that thence they passed into the body of the shaman, in whose shaking and quivering person they inspected and approved the structure of the *ruwala*, while the shaman clutched the central post. After a few moments the shaman danced again, this time more energetically than before, moving in and out of and round the structure of the *ruwala*, while he struck at the leaves pendant from its framework with the twigs he held in his hands. His movements became more violent, and he shouted several times. All this was explained as play on the part of the *yaku*, who thus showed their pleasure in the *ruwala* that had been built for them. Wannaku clutched at the side posts and bast streamers, and struck these with the leaves he held in his hands. The *yaku* thus examined the streamers to ascertain if they were properly made and of the right number. Wannaku then danced very energetically, and leaving the *ruwala* dragged Sina to where Mr Perera stood a few paces from the *ruwala*, and shaking and gesticulating violently spoke to him promising him success in all he undertook[1].

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[1] Mr Samuel Perera, Forest Ranger, was an old friend of the Uniche community, and it was owing to his presence and assistance at our first interview with Wannaku and his fellows that we were immediately on the best of terms with them.

Wannaku again danced in and out and round the structure, 796 then after striking the leaves and clutching the uprights of the 535 *ruwala* he dragged his supporter towards an elderly Vedda on- 786 looker, before whom he quivered and shouted as he had done before Mr Perera. We were told that in this case he prophesied success in hunting. After this he returned to the *ruwala*, and, still dancing and quivering, took a streamer in his left hand and shouting and dancing wiped its length with the bunch of leaves that he held in his right hand. He began this manœuvre at the east front of the *ruwala*, and taking each streamer in turn, went round in the opposite direction to the hands of a clock, but he soon turned and went round the reverse way; we were afterwards told that he should have gone clockwise all the time, and that when he did otherwise "it was a mistake." After this he danced round the central post, clutching at the leaves that hung from the roof of the *ruwala*, and at last moving so energetically and violently as to get away from his supporter Sina, who had been following his movements as best he could. About this time Sina himself became possessed, and after a few moments of extremely energetic dancing both men fell supine at the north front of the *ruwala*. Wannaku came to himself almost immediately, but Sina appeared to remain unconscious, even when lifted up and propped against the central post of the *ruwala*, while Wannaku shook bunches of leaves in his face and over his head, Wannaku meanwhile dancing energetically and repeating two words, to which the onlookers answered "Eh-h." We were told that the *yaku* in this way announced their satisfaction with the *ruwala* which had been built for them, and indicated that they were now ready to go.

Then Wannaku stumbled to the central post, to which he clung in a seemingly exhausted condition, partly supported by a Vedda, who had been following him since Sina fell to the ground. As Sina, who had been helped up by another man, still appeared in a semi-conscious condition, water was splashed over him, with the result that he soon came to himself. This was the end of the ceremonial as far as Ruwala Yaka and Ruwala Yakini were concerned, but after a short break another Vedda invoked two other *yaku*, Milalane Yaka and Milalane

796 Yakini, who live on a hill called Milalanegala. This Vedda
535 danced in very much the same way as Wannaku had danced,
786 and the few differences noted, such as his less energetic steps, were doubtless due to personal idiosyncrasy. However, he did not bury his head in the leaves tied to the central post on becoming possessed, but shook the leaves which he held in his right hand in his own face, having previously struck these against those pendant from the *ruwala*. After dancing for a short time he staggered up to Wannaku and spoke, the spirits possessing him asking why they were called and whether there was sickness amongst the people. To this Wannaku answered "No," telling the spirits that he had called them at the request of the white man who wished to know them. After this the celebrant again danced in and out of and round the *ruwala*, striking at the pendant leaves. Soon he buried his head in the leaves tied to the central post, his whole body quivering, then he quickly jumped away from the pole and made his way to the Ratemahatmaya of the district, who was an onlooker, and shook the leaves in his right hand against the latter's chest, telling him he would be successful in the business he was about to undertake. This was in answer to a question that the Ratemahatmaya had shouted a short time previously. There was more dancing round the central pole, the performer striking it with the leaves which he held in his hand; after a few minutes he approached Wannaku, and striking him with the leaves said something, and again danced round the central pole which he seized in his hand and shook four times, once facing each of the cardinal points of the compass, shouting loudly as he did so. This was the means adopted by the *yaku* to test the solidity of the structure. We were told that this dance was generally
[755 performed in order to cure sickness, and if the pole fell or the
787 structure came to pieces the patient for whose benefit it took place would die or others would become ill. At last with many quiverings and clutchings at the central post the *yaku* took their departure.

A similar dance lasting a shorter time, during which the
796 dancer was possessed by Moranegala Yaka, then took place,
535 after which Wannaku, who appeared to have quite recovered

from his previous fatigue, invoked Walimabagala Yaka and Yakini. The dancing of these *yaku* exactly resembled that described at the beginning of the ceremony, and is therefore not further recorded. 796 535

THE KOLAMADUWA CEREMONY.

It seems very doubtful whether the *kolamaduwa* as it exists at the present day should be described as a Vedda ceremony at all, though as it was danced by the Henebedda Veddas at Bendiyagalge it merits a description. It is in any case certain that the *kolamaduwa* is not often performed, as the amount of food and other properties necessary could scarcely have been found by one small Vedda community[1]; also its main objects, the curing of disease in cattle and epidemic sickness among men, would not appeal greatly to small communities of hunters dwelling in healthy surroundings. At the present day the Henebedda Veddas make rough chena and herd cattle for the Sinhalese, but the cattle have not yet become an important factor in their lives, and the people themselves do not suffer from epidemics. Further, at Bandaraduwa, on the borders of the Eastern Province, the only other place where this dance was known among Veddas, we were told that they would perform it for the Sinhalese, and that each dancer would be paid Rs. 5 for his trouble besides being given his food. Our aged Sinhalese informant, mentioned on p. 31, told us that the *kolamaduwa* was not danced by these Veddas when he was a boy, and that he considered it had arisen as an elaboration of the *ruwala* ceremony which used to be performed in those days. The *ruwala*—already described in this chapter—itself shows signs of having been introduced from the Tamils of the east coast, though probably at a comparatively remote period. Great numbers of *yaku* and *yakini* should be invoked at the *kolamaduwa*; some, 755 535 177

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[1] According to Tissahami all the following offerings were necessary for a full ceremony. Eight measures of rice and two large pots in which to cook it, 10 coconuts, 5 bundles of yams, 50 plantains, 2 sugar canes, 200 betel leaves, 12 candles, 1 lb. sandal wood, 100 balls of jaggery, ½ lb. turmeric, 1 lb. of resin, 4 coloured cloths, 8 yards of white cloth, 4 necklets of beads, 8 small baskets and 8 cloths to cover them, 4 pairs of metal bangles, 1 bottle of ghee and flowers of various kinds. [782]

765 535 177 the spirits of people who frankly were not Veddas, such as Peradeniya Bandar; others, spirits of men like Panikki Vedda already referred to, famous for catching elephants and buffaloes, who were Veddas in little more than name. Others, if Veddas in name, yet behaved like Kandyan chiefs, if we may judge from their deeds quoted in the invocations, such as building dagabas and bringing paddy fields under cultivation. Some of the Maha Yakini are regarded as the wives of such chiefs, and Unapane Kiriamma is in this community regarded as the wife of Unapane Wanniya, the chief who first brought the paddy fields at Unapane under cultivation.

THE KOLAMADUWA CEREMONY AT BENDIYAGALGE.

796 535 778 This was admittedly not a full ceremony. Although the bower was built the correct offerings were not made nor were all the *yaku* invoked, and a disturbance which took place the next evening was said to be due to the anger of the *yaku* on account of the lack of offerings (see p. 125). Plate LIII, fig. 1 shows the *kolamaduwa* with bunches of leaves hanging from the horizontal bars of the framework and a circle of leaves called *kolawgena* suspended from the centre, that is, the crossing of the horizontal bars. The shaman, Sita Wanniya, Randu Wanniya and Kaira, holding bunches of leaves in their hands, walked round the circle within the upright posts while they sang an invocation to the *yaku* to come to the leaves of the *kolamaduwa*. Soon they began to dance (Plate LIII, fig. 2) with the usual step, gently at first, but gradually swaying and bending more and more they brushed the leaves of the *kolamaduwa* with those they held in their hands at each step.

A basket covered with a cloth had been placed on a tripod in one corner of the bower, and this should have contained various offerings for the *yakini*, including flowers and beads; 796 535 not having either to offer, a few leaves had been put in it. Sita Wanniya seized this basket called *pakudama*, and danced with it in both hands, then after a short time he shouted "Ah, ah!" and became possessed by the Maha Yakini. When the Sita

1:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1907-1908) 1911

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Plate LIII

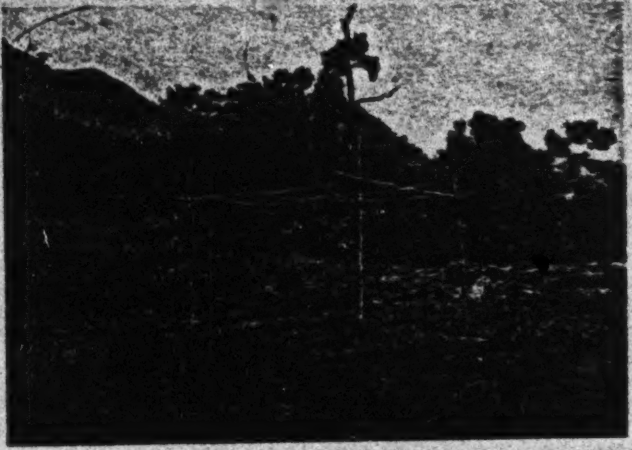

Fig. 1. Kolamaduwa ceremony, the Aukumaduwa (Henebedda)

Fig. 2. Kolamaduwa ceremony, the beginning of the dance (Henebedda)

[facing p. 268a]

Plate LIV

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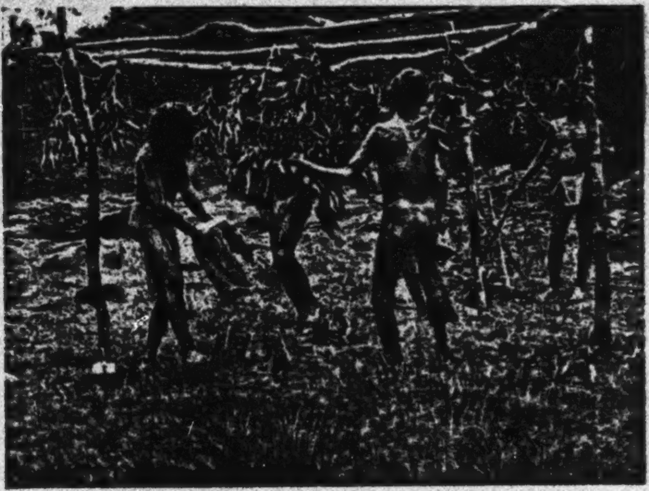

Fig. 1. Kolamaduwa ceremony, the shaman and Sita Wanniya become possessed (Henebedda)*

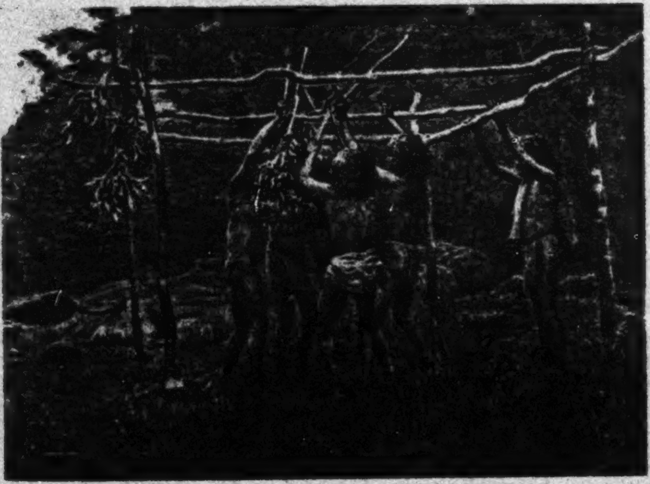

Fig. 2. Kolamaduwa ceremony, slashing the leaves from the *kolamaduwa* (Henebedda)*

[facing p. 268b]

Wanniya picked up the basket the shaman put his head inside the circle, and a Vedda immediately made ready to support him if he should fall. The shaman, now possessed, held on to the horizontal pieces and trembled violently, while his head and the upper part of his body were hidden by the leaves. Soon he left it and danced in and out of the *kolamaduwa*, followed closely by a Vedda ready to support him. Sita Wanniya hid himself in the leaves of the circle in the same way for a few seconds, his whole body swaying to and fro the while. On leaving the *kolavegena* he danced about wildly, but soon returned to put his head into the circle again, and then, swaying and tottering, danced up to us, and, speaking with the voice of the *yakini*, said, "Why have you called us? there is nothing in this basket for us, and there is no food provided." Then he returned to the circle, into which he thrust his head, while several men surrounded him and fanned him with leaves. When he emerged he again came to us, and in the person of the *yakini* asked us for bangles, and again returned to the *kolavegena*; then several of the dancers pushed their heads into it at once. Sita Wanniya returned to us and placed the basket on each of our heads in turn, presumably as a sign of favour. Then the shaman put his head into the *kolavegena*, and all the other dancers, having put down their bunches of leaves, now held peeled sticks to represent swords, and raised these over the shaman's head, and then slashed the leaves off the *kolamaduwa* (Plate LIV, fig. 2). Shouting and gasping, they all came to us, those possessed by the *yaku* gasping out that they must leave; then they returned to the *kolamaduwa* and danced in and out, raising and crossing their sticks. This was continued for a little while, the shaman several times putting his head into the circle and all using their sticks as before. The spirits left those who were possessed quietly, without producing collapse, and the performers ended the dance by silently putting their sticks on the top of the *kolavegena*, this being done to avoid putting them on the ground, as they were now sacred to the *yaku*.

After the dance the shaman cut the *kolavegena* from off the *kolamaduwa* and tore off the leaves still remaining on it, in order to prevent the *yaku* returning to it.

THE AVANA CEREMONY.

796 The *avana* ceremony which we saw at Henebedda may be described here. Mr Bibile told us that he had heard of it having been performed in his father's time by Sinhalese in the neighbourhood of Bibile, and the former Korala of Bakiella in the Eastern Province, a man particularly versed in magic and spiritual matters, knew all about this custom, while on the other hand many Veddas did not know of it. Our impression is that we are here dealing with an original Vedda custom, consisting of an offering of part of the game killed, which has been modified by the peasant Sinhalese of the Vedda country, and again adopted from them in its modified form by the Veddas.

The following account of the *avana* custom records what we
796 actually saw done on the night of February 7th, at Henebedda
224 on the occasion of the death of a fine buck. The stag, which
782 had been shot a short distance from Bendiyagalge caves, was carried to a convenient slab of rock between our camp and the caves and there cut up, an arrow being most skilfully used to skin and disjoint the animal; the throat was opened low down in the front of the neck, one or more big veins being severed, and three double handfuls of blood were smeared upon a heap of *mora* leaves which had previously been laid on a rock. Then six long narrow pieces of muscle called *anda malu* (eel flesh, because the strips of muscle are long like eels) were cut from the root of the neck as well as two morsels from the tongue, the nostril and the ears. These twelve pieces of meat, constituting
796 the offering called *avana*, were put on the blood-smeared leaves
782 for the Kadawara Yaku, who were said to be the spirits of eleven Veddas who were named and described as follows:

773 Avana Vedda, the first Vedda who instituted the rite.

Lē Vedda, the first man who smeared blood on the heap of leaves.

Mas Vedda, the first man who laid meat upon the heap of leaves.

Buta Vedda, the *yaka* of the Vedda who sent the animal whose blood and flesh were used at the first *avana* ceremony.

Atu Holaman Vedda, the *yaka* who makes noises in the forest near the hunter to make him believe that the game he is following has run away. 796 782

Bedi Holaman Vedda, the *yaka* who breaks sticks and causes dead branches to fall and so frighten game away. 773

Kili Mas Vedda, the *yaka* of the Vedda who cut up the animal whose flesh and blood were used at the first *avana*.

Polu Mas Vedda, who smoked part of the meat of this animal.

Melihi Vedda, the *yaka* who blinds hunters so that they cannot track the wounded game.

Ahuru Gahana Vedda, the Vedda who first snapped his fingers to call his dogs.

Ihurun Gahana Vedda, the Vedda who first whistled to his dogs to come hunting.

These eleven *yaku* are considered strong enough to kill folk and to send sickness; it appeared to us that the individuals of this group were not carefully differentiated but rather regarded as one power. [753]

The Korala of Bakiella who has already been mentioned said that a leaf cone (*goṭuwa*) containing blood was placed on a heap of leaves with flesh from the throat, tongue and ears of the kill and the whole offered to the 64,000 Maralu Yaku and 64,000 Kadawara Yaku. The leaf cone is a distinctly Sinhalese feature and the ceremony described by the Korala had become entirely Sinhalese in character. This is borne out by the invocation which was written down for us by the Korala. 796 782 177 539

Atu awanē lē dena mantraya Kaḍawara Riri Yakaṭa Yakinniṭa.

Vēlāla niwana sindāpoti bissawun wahansēge kradaya palā biki wu Kaḍawāra Riri Yakshayā Yakshiniṭa atu awanak aetun koṭu awanak aetun, amu mas amu riri aetun.

Adat mama andagasā kaepa kera dennē. Mama yana issaraṭa ruhera an manayak gendādiŋ, ellē pāḍu kera dīlā, veḍī munē is(sara)ṭa kera dīla, amaren giyat (a) mareŋ piṭat wilā, marana pathera dīlā, waessī langaṭa wilden ennā wāgē, kambe kanuweṭa megal aetek kaenda palikera wāge, ella pāḍu (ka) ra denḍa Kaḍawara Riri Yakshayā Yakshigen waranti.

9796 "The invocation to Kadawara Riri Yakā and Yakini, when presenting blood in the shelter (made) of branches.

782 "There was (on a former occasion) an (open) shelter of
177 branches, there was an enclosed shelter, there were fresh meat
539 and fresh blood for the Kadawara Riri Yakshayā and Yakshini,
who having guarded (?) the pool of the General Queen at Vētāla
Nuwara (the Goblin city) became demons.

"To-day also having summoned (you) I present the (same) offering. Before I go I solicit from the Kadawara Riri Yakshayā and Yakshini that they will bring a head with beautiful horns (to me), that they will make good all deficiencies, make my shots unerring [lit. present (the game) before the point of the shot], should I get into difficulty that they will overcome it, decree that I shall kill (game), (enable me) to approach a calf (fem.) like the buffalo cow comes up (to it) [i.e. without alarming it], rope a lucky tusk-elephant to the post, as though defending it (?), and that they will make good all deficiencies."

The above transliteration and translation have been prepared by Mr Parker who points out that the written invocation is full of errors, and therefore difficult to translate, but it does not contain any "Vaedi expressions" and "only a few difficult words." We have consulted Mr Parker in the hope that he might be able to throw some light on the matter of the origin of the [illegible], but although his remarks are in many ways interesting and suggestive, they do not really explain the origin of the ceremony, though he is inclined to agree with us that the ceremony is of Vedda origin[1].

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[1] Mr Parker writes: "The Sinhalese have also some Vaedi Yakas though these have no connection with the eleven spirit yakas of your ceremony, who are chiefly protective. There are also 'Vaedi' Kadawara who are minor subordinates of the Kohomba (Margosa) demon or Yaka. *Kadawara* is a compound Tamil word meaning according to a story that was related to me both in Ceylon (N.C.P.) and at the Tanjore temple, 'the celestial who escaped' compression by Siva the Indian god, when he clasped in his embrace six others created by his wife, and thus made them into the Kataragam God Skanda, the Indian war God, called also Kanda Kumara, with six faces and twelve arms."

clear what opportunities existed for obtaining it. Deer and pig 262 would be killed and eaten, and snakes were said to be killed without a scruple though one informant denied that he would kill a cobra.

Time did not allow of any systematic study of the religion of 771 the Verdas, but it was clear that this had been much affected by 177 Tamil influence while yet retaining some of the more obvious outward features of the Vedda cult of the dead. Unfortunately we had no opportunity of ascertaining definitely whether the Verdas have also retained the essence of the Vedda cult, i.e. the belief in the loving-kindness and the guiding influence of the spirits of their dead, though since the leader of the dance seen at Vakarai showed the classical signs of "possession," there seems to be every reason to hold this belief at least provisionally. 575 The dance we saw rehearsed at Vakarai was said to be performed 796 for sickness and in thanksgiving when a good harvest had been gathered. The dance took place at night, the men dancing in relays till daylight, the women squatting on the ground, but taking no part. No food is taken during the dance, but some is placed upon the "altar" *kudaram* (lit. cage or small shed, *T*) which is eaten by all in the morning.

The temple seen at Pellanchenai, of which a rough plan is 346 given in fig. 14, was a building some 12 feet long by about 10 broad; it faced east and the roof was carried forward for a few feet beyond the front wall in which was a door. A stout pole (marked *P*), thought to be some 30 feet long and consisting of a young tree with the bark removed, stood in front of the temple about 30 feet from the entrance. To the north of the pole and about 8 feet from it was a hole in the ground *F*, really a small well containing water, while to the south of the pole and at a distance of about 12 feet from it there was a young tree before which a small platform *T* (*kudaram*) was built, on which a rough stone rested. Some distance beyond the pole and somewhat to the south of it stood a tree *H*, apparently quite dead, with a fringe of dried leaves and small twigs round its trunk, before which were the remains of a *kudaram*; to the south-west of the pole and roughly in the position of *Y* in the plan, a limb of a tree was planted in the soil. The branches the inhabitants of Gongolla a primitive jungle village some 20 miles from the coast in the Eastern Province[1]. 776

When the dance, of which we saw a partial rehearsal, is about to take place the inside of the temple is decorated with cloths and the green branches of trees including coconut leaves, and the model of the boat which commemorates the arrival of Kapalpei is hoisted to the top of the tall pole standing outside the temple. If the dance is undertaken in order to cure a sick man, milk is placed in the pot which is supported on the rough stand (fig. Y) mentioned above. The sick individual, and probably the dancers, are fed from this and at the end of the night's dance the last portion is thrown out into the jungle for Kapalpe. 535 755

The dancers should wear a petticoat made of strips of coconut leaves and green leafy twigs of other trees, and it was stated that the ministrant wore these just as did the other dancers. After the dance a number of these ceremonial garments are preserved in the temple where they are allowed to dry. Rice plantain and chewing material are piled on the *kudarum* during the ceremony and camphor is burnt. Kapalpe sees the food provided and the honour done him and is propitiated. [292] [782]

The stone *pilliyar* has been frankly adopted from the Tamils though Mr Kumarakulasinghe pointed out that no sacred Tamil stone was so rough[2]; further, according to the same informant Tamils do not dance round either *pilliyar* or *kudarum*. 777 778

At Kalkudah it was said that there was a special "priest" or ministrant whom we did not see. We gathered that in some way he officiated in connection with the land cultivated by the community and he perhaps corresponded to the Sinhalese *gamarala*. 783

Some idea of the actual character of the ceremony and of the nature of the *kudarum* and pole can be derived from the dance rehearsed for our benefit at Vakarai. Plate LXX, fig. 1 535 776

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[1] Cf. Brenda Z. Seligmann, "A Devil Ceremony of the Peasant Sinhalese," *Journ. Roy. Anthrop. Inst.* Vol. XXXIX, 1909.

[2] This may be true of the Tamils of the east coast, but we have seen some shrines containing equally rough stones set up by Tamil coolies on plantations. Worship may be performed at such shrines, offerings of rice and chewing materials being made at these and afterwards eaten.

535 796 shows the site selected for the dance and the arrangements made. The dancing ground consisted of one of those sandy spaces surrounded by a growth of scrub and low trees which are so common on the east coast. A *kudarum*, the upper part of which was covered with leaves, had been prepared, the top of this was depressed so as to present a sort of tray upon which a white cloth was laid; within the tray were laid flowers, which in this case did duty for the food offered in the ceremony. No model of a ship was hoisted to the top of the pole, which was encircled by wreaths of small leafy bunches at heights of about 6 to 12 feet from the ground.

There were five dancers, each of whom held a bunch of leafy twigs in each hand, which when the dance began were held against the body just below the umbilicus.

The leader of the dance was an old man who held a piece of 535 796 787 cloth instead of a bunch of leaves. Behind each dancer stood a man who supported him by clapping his hands round the dancer's body below the latter's hands, i.e. over the hypogastric and epipubic region. At first the dancers faced the *kudarum*, their hands being held low against their thighs, but soon they began to move round the altar in single file (Plate LXX, fig. 2). As they danced they began to quiver, the rippling motion of their muscles from the knees upwards becoming progressively more violent, until as the dancers moved round the altar the majority of their superficial muscles all over the body were twitching irregularly. As the dance became quicker the dancers feigned exhaustion, leaning or falling back into the arms of their supporters, but this did not last long and dancing was not interrupted; soon the men left the altar and danced round the pole, the irregular quivering of their muscles being very striking. At times they shouted and raised the bunches of leaves which they held in their hands above their heads. They continued to dance round the altar and round the pole alternately; as they danced round the pole their movements became more violent, the men supporting the dancers let go and the latter now danced and leapt round the pole and beat the leaves tied to it with the leaves they held in their hands. As the vigour of their movements lessened, their supporters, who had been following their

Plate LXX

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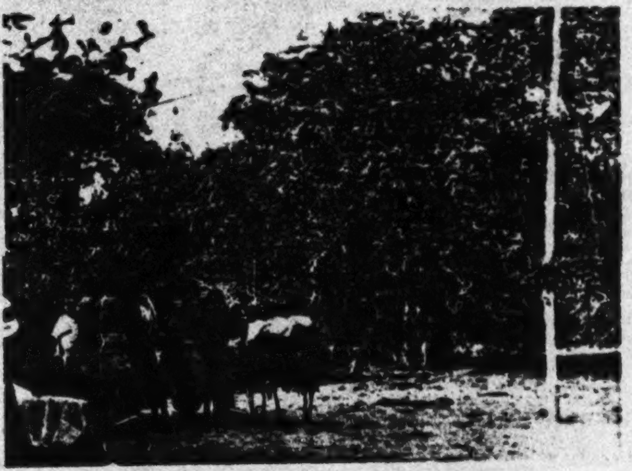

Fig. 1. Site of dance at Vakarai, showing *kudarama* and pole

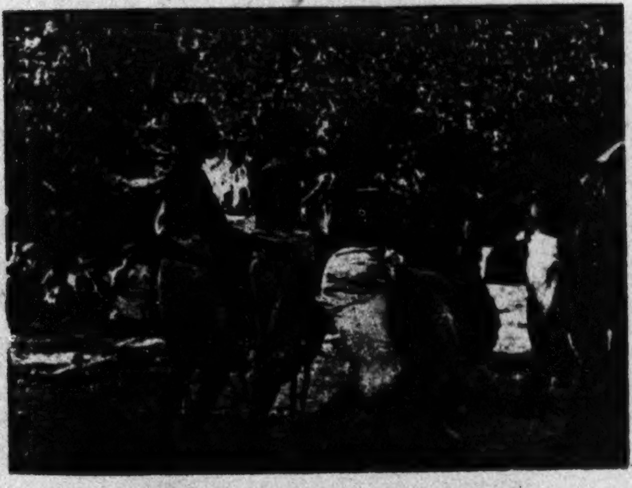

Fig. 2. Dancing round the *kudarama*

[facing p. 338a]

Plate LXXI

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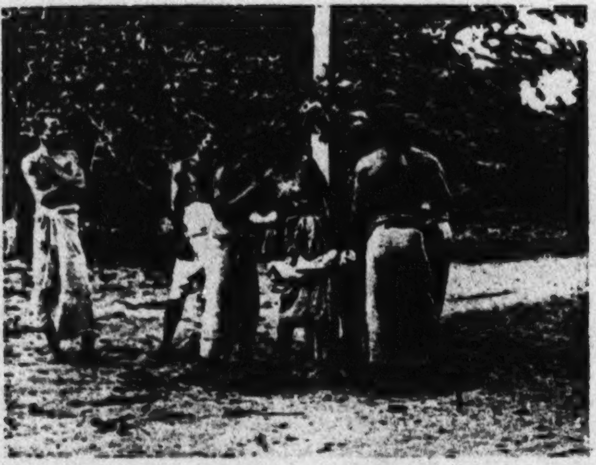

The end of the dance at Vakarai

[facing p. 338 b]

motions, once more put their arms round them, soon after which 535
the dancers fell limply into their arms. The leader of the dance
seemed especially excited at this stage and, trembling and 796
quivering all over, stood back to the pole and wildly waved his 787
scarf in the air. Soon his movements became less vigorous, his
head nodded on his shoulders and hung down on his chest
as he addressed the other dancers in a harsh and broken voice
(Plate LXXI). In view of the Vedda ceremonies which we subsequently
saw we have no doubt that he prophesied good fortune.
It appeared to us that this old man really presented the ordinary
characteristics of Vedda "possession," i.e. the dance, though only
a rehearsal, had produced the customary effects associated with
it, and certainly this old man's muscles continued to quiver
irregularly for some time after the dance was over. As for the
remaining dancers we have no doubt that the dance remained
for them as it had begun, simply a rehearsal and an amusing
piece of acting.

Such dances are held only to cure sickness or in return for 535
good crops, and it was emphatically denied that anything similar 796
took place after childbirth or death.

Very little was elicited concerning death and mourning ceremonies. 764
The corpse is washed, and it seemed that although this
is usually done by a barber or *dhobis* (professional washerman) it
might be done by one or more of the relatives of the dead man.
The grave must be at some distance from the habitations of the
living and also from their cultivation patches. No fire is lit on
the grave. A feast is held a few days after burial, which
appears to be called *bati bane*, and the food for this, especially
rice, is provided by the near relatives of the dead man and
distributed. A *kudaram* is built upon which the food is placed
for "a short time" as an offering to Kapalpei, after which it is
eaten by the assembled people.

This account agrees with that given by the Sarasins, who 769
record that a coast Vedda, Pereman, when asked about his religion 177
"laughed and said they had that of the Tamils, they honoured
their dead by cooking rice in front of their house, folding their
hands, saying a few words and then eating the rice. As they
did this they spoke the name of the deceased and said: 'Help

177 184 bours' language, customs, and manner of life. In a few of the remoter forest fastnesses of the interior there are still to be found more or less pure-blooded Veddas who continue to support life 144 by the precarious *chena* cultivation and by hunting: but in addition to these pure-blooded Veddas, who are a very feeble folk indeed in point of numbers, the inhabitants of many of what are generally recognized as Sinhalese villages, and the so-called "coast Veddas," who have their settlements in a few places along the eastern coast to the north of Batticaloa, are to a greater 114 or less extent of Vedda origin. The Veddas as a race have been visited and described by C. G. and B. Z. Seligmann [1] and more recently by Dr. R. L. Spittel [2] of Colombo. Of the coast Veddas 114 the Seligmanns say,—"although these coast Veddas, or Verdas as they call themselves, have intermarried with the Tamils and ● 796 have adopted many Tamil customs, they still have remains of the old clan system of the Veddas, and although they usually speak Tamil, the majority of them say they have a language of their own which they consider to be the old Vedda language, and which was found to be Sinhalese. They have roughly-built temples, and we were told independently in two settlements that the chief agency worshipped was called Kapalpe or Kabalpe, *i.e.*, "ship spirit." At first we feared some misunderstanding, but when one of us was shown within one of their temples, into which after some trouble he was allowed to penetrate, a small model of a ship partly square rigged was seen, and it was stated that at a 796 special ceremony this was hoisted to the top of a pole some thirty feet tall which stood outside the temple." [3] The ceremony to be described in what follows appears to be in fact that conducted for the propitiation of this "ship spirit" and of the goddess Ammal, and, if so, it is that which the Seligmanns saw rehearsed, in part 121 at any rate, at Vakarai.[4] The description, therefore, imperfect 796 and perhaps inaccurate in some details as it may be, being

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[1] C. G. and B. Z. Seligmann, *The Veddas*. See also *Spolia Zeylanica*, vol. v, Part xx, Dec. 1908, pp. 155 *et seq*.

[2] R. L. Spittel, *Wild Ceylon*.

[3] C. G. and B. Z. Seligmann, *Spolia Zeylanica*, vol. v, Part xx, Dec. 1908, pp. 156, 157.

[4] *The Veddas*, pp. 335-9.

written from memory aided by not very adequate notes made 121 796 shortly after the ceremony, helps to fill up a lacuna in the hitherto published records of Vedda customs and ritual.

In June of 1925 I was engaged, as a junior administrative 123 officer, in dealing with an outbreak of cholera among the Muslim tobacco cultivators in the neighbourhood of a remote coast Vedda village, about forty-four miles north of Batticaloa on the [131 Batticaloa-Trincomalee coast road. 361] *Investigation by the* medical officer with whom I was associated soon revealed the fact that the focus of the infection was a yet more remote inland district lying behind that part of the coast, and that to grapple effectively with the disease it would be necessary to evacuate the population of that area and to concentrate it, for the treatment of the actually sick and for the segregation of the "contacts," in the comparatively accessible locality where we had already established ourselves, not far from the spot where the first cases to be brought to our notice had occurred. I therefore found myself obliged, at short notice, to enlarge the camp of which I had already begun the construction, and in particular to begin the building of a new hospital hut on a more grandiose scale than that originally contemplated. For the work of construction, which consisted of the erection of a framework of jungle sticks and the covering of it with *cadjans*,—dried and plaited palm branches,—according to the familiar village method, it was necessary to enlist the services of the coast Veddas of the adjoining settlement. The villagers were naturally reluctant to engage in work which they not unreasonably supposed would expose them to the infection, and it called for much tact and persuasiveness on the part of the Chief Headman of the *pattu* to get them to do so. Fully realizing that, apart from all other considerations, the occurrence of even one case of cholera among them would effectively put a stop to all co-operation, the Chief Headman and I took, successfully as the event showed, every possible precaution to prevent such a catastrophe. Everything [796 seemed to be going on without let or hindrance when the Chief 776] Headman upset my calculations by announcing that the work must cease for twelve hours on the 8th of June, to enable the villagers to perform a ceremony in honour of the *Periya Devi*

123 (Great Goddess).[5] It was in vain that I pointed out the urgency
● [796 of the work and protested against any delay, even going the
776] length of suggesting that the ceremony should be postponed.
After a good deal of futile argument I was obliged to resign myself to the inevitable.

My chagrin was to some extent lessened when the Chief Headman approached me with an invitation from the people to be present at the ceremony. The invitation was welcome, for it offered an alternative to an evening spent in the company only of a book and of my own thoughts in the solitude of the one-roomed "rest house" where I had my temporary quarters. It was accordingly arranged that the Chief Headman should come to fetch me after my dinner.

The moon,—full two days before,—had already risen when the Chief Headman and his following of village notables emerged from the shadows of the jungle bordering the high road. I got up from the long chair in which I had been sitting on the verandah and joined them, and we set off northwards along the road. After walking along it for about half a mile we turned off to the right through alternate thick jungle and open spaces overgrown with *illuk*-grass, and with here and there a solitary tree casting a deep black shadow under the white light of the moon, in the direction of the mouth of the river which crossed the high road about three and a half miles to the north of our camp. We had
[534] gone in this way perhaps a mile in all when I began to be aware of the rhythmical throbbing of a tom-tom, at first only faint in the distance, somewhere ahead in the jungle. I recollect well the feeling of growing excitement as the sound grew gradually louder and more insistent with our advance. Another mile, and the path which our party was following, at that point through thick
123 jungle, took a sharp turn to the right, and we suddenly found
ourselves in a large circular clearing, surrounded by high timber.
796 To our right as we entered were the spectators, squatted upon the ground in rows and facing towards that part of the enclosure which lay to our left. Even the fringes of the jungle seemed to be

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[5] This goddess is presumably the goddess Ammal, "who sends small-pox and skin disease": see *The Veddas*, p. 336.

full of people. To our left was a shrine set up against the jungle 123
wall in that quarter. In a space left clear in front of the shrine 796
stood what can best be described as a sort of "maypole," and
between the "maypole" and the spectators was a small area
enclosed by lengths of coloured cloth stretched between upright
sticks. Within this area could be seen a small temporary booth,
with human figures moving about a fire, over which, the Chief
Headman informed me, rice was being cooked to be offered to the
goddess.

When we reached the clearing the ceremony had not yet begun.
I was conducted to a seat of honour in the front row of the spec-
tators, and sat there for some minutes looking round with [373]
interest on the scene, which was lighted here and there by the flare
of torches, and listening to the monotonous throb of the tom-
tom, which was apparently being played somewhere close by in
the jungle. Suddenly the tom-tom took on a more staccato note.
Excitement rose among the spectators; and presently, from a
gap in the jungle wall on my right and rather behind me as I sat
facing the shrine, there defiled into the clearing a procession
which slowly threaded its way through the ranks of the spec-
tators to the clear space in front of the shrine. In this procession
there were carried two wooden ceremonial swords,* which were
to be prominent in the dances which followed. In front of the
shrine the procession stopped, and a ritual of some sort, the exact
nature of which it was impossible to gather in the semi-darkness,
was gone through.

At the conclusion of the ritual at the shrine a red flag, bearing
embroidered upon it the sun and moon and two human figures,
and another device the details of which I was unable to distin-
guish, but which was possibly the figure of a ship, the emblem of
Kapalpe, was hoisted upon the "maypole." This was, perhaps, [576]
the formal beginning of the ceremony, for after the hoisting of
the flag flowers were brought in baskets, as a mark of respect, to
the Chief Headman and myself. Under the Chief Headman's

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*These swords resembled the ceremonial swords (*ran kaduwa*) seen by the Seligmanns *only* in the ceremony of the invocation of Rahu Yaka at Sitala Wanniya, (fifty miles from the place at which the ceremony here described was performed), and illustrated on p. 256 of *The Veddas*.

123 796 guidance I touched the flowers in acknowledgement. After this the rice which had meanwhile been cooked in the enclosure in front of the shrine was offered to the goddess at the shrine, and the enclosure itself was removed.

The offering of the rice appeared to mark the conclusion of the first stage of the ceremony, for it was followed by a procession of those who were to take part in the subsequent dancing,—apparently accompanied by the image of the goddess,—out of the clearing and, as I was informed, down to the river about half a mile away for the sacred bath.

Time dragged by. The moonlight flooded the clearing, showing the ranks of the spectators sitting in their places with oriental patience and talking in undertones. At last the procession of dancers re-entered the clearing and advanced to the open space in front of the shrine. Here a ritual was gone through which seemed to be intended to induce in the dancers a state of "possession,"[7] and after the performance of this ritual the dances began.

First of all two principal dancers, wearing what were evidently ceremonial jackets of red cloth, took, each of them, in one hand one of the wooden swords previously mentioned and in the other [535] a bunch of leaves, and went in and out among the people with a queer shuffling step and a curious rhythmic brandishing of the swords and leaves. Once or twice the leader stopped, and laying his sword upon the head of some person in the crowd began to [787] prophesy.[8] One prophecy, as interpreted to me by the Chief Headman, concerned the outbreak of cholera, and was in the form

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[7] The Seligmanns, on pp. 134-5 of *The Veddas*, discuss at some length the nature of "possession" in the Vedda ritual dances.

[114 197] [8] My impression at the time was that in uttering these prophecies the leader of the dance used the Vedda language. Certainly the language used did not appear to me to be either Sinhalese or Tamil. It is true that the Seligmanns say, in the passage quoted in the text, that the "old Vedda language" as spoken by the coast Veddas was found to be Sinhalese; but (i) it seems at least possible that the Vedda language may remain to some extent in ritual use among them; and (ii) I am inclined to think that in the ceremony here described the invocation of Rahu Yaku, described by the Seligmanns on pp. 254-9 of *The Veddas*, was combined with the worship of Ammal and Kapalpe, described by

123 796 [787] of an exhortation to the villagers not to be afraid, as no harm would come to them. It need hardly be said that such a prophecy was extremely *à propos* from my point of view. I began to think that perhaps the Chief Headman was right and the time spent upon the ceremony was not wholly wasted.

The two principal dancers at length finished their dance and returned to their station near the shrine; and in their place ten or a dozen people, with a very old man as *choregos*, danced a similar dance, threading their way among the ranks of the people in single file. From time to time they would suddenly break off their dance, and rushing back tumultuously to the open space about the "maypole" would beat upon the pole with the bunches of leaves which each of them held in either hand, crying "*Wach! wach! wach!*" The Chief Headman, himself a Hindu, gave me the following interesting interpretation of the symbolism of this dance:—"The pole represents Brahma, the Source of Life, and the dancers wandering about among the people represent human life, at the end of which the soul returns to its Creator for a while with glad cries."

123 796 152 535 786 Later this dance was again danced by the same persons, led by the two red-jacketed principal dancers. Then the announcement was made that the goddess was coming from the river, and the two principal dancers began a very solemn, ecstatic dance under a canopy. As they danced the excitement grew tenser and tenser and their motions became more and more convulsive. They were firmly held by those near them,—a precaution necessary, the Chief Headman assured me, to prevent them from running amok among the spectators,—and seemed to struggle to shake off the restraint thus put upon them. Gradually, however, their efforts slackened, and they finally sank unconscious upon the ground.[2]

[114 197] them on pp. 335-9, and that the "principal dancers" mentioned were not coast Veddas, but were brought in from outside. The point is one of some interest; but as, unfortunately, I did not go into it at the time, I do not feel at all certain about it.

[2] The Seligmanns say on p. 134 of *The Veddas*, "Most sincere practitioners whom we interrogated in different localities agreed that . . . they never entirely lost consciousness." After the dance here described the

123 It was now two o'clock in the morning, and, though the ceremony was by no means concluded, I had seen enough of it to appreciate its general nature and it behoved me to get a little sleep in preparation for the day's work before me. Accompanied by the Chief Headman I made my way back along the jungle paths and across the open spaces, still white in the moonlight,—with the throb of the tom-tom behind me becoming fainter and fainter as I pursued my way,—to the quiet of my lodging.

R. B. Naish.

[796 dancers lay upon the ground and certainly appeared to be genuinely and completely unconscious for about ten minutes, *i.e.*, up to the time
789] at which I left the clearing.

own departed; spirits, real and intimate, inhabiting like themselves 776 rock and tree and stream; human enough to pester or assist, to take vengeance if angered, and, if propitiated, tutelary over the Vedda's abodes. It is owing to the maliciousness of these spirits, and less from any fear of wild animals, that the Vedda is averse to travelling alone in the jungle; though, when necessity compels, he will do so, armed only with his little axe. Nor do they permit their women to adorn themselves too much for fear of attracting the *hetha* (devil).*

When a person dies it is the *hetha* that killed him; and the *hetha* of 761 the dead one remains by the corpse and haunts the vicinity for years. Hence the great fear these people have of their dead; a fear that sometimes makes them cover with leaves and abandon a dying person, be he or she their best beloved, lest their necks be squeezed; a fear that [768] keeps them away for years from caves where deaths have occurred.

In the course of time the spirit of a dead person loses its individuality in a general spirit world, the spirits of the more recently dead, and therefore the better known to succeeding generations, supplanting the older. A belief embodying the beautiful thought, that we really do not die until those who knew us and loved us are also dead.

The Vedda religion then is a cult of the spirits of the dead; not so 769 much an ancestor worship, though a few names of long dead Veddas, such as Bilinde Yakka and Kande Yakka have a place in it, as a homage 771 to spirits recently deceased (*Nae-Yakka*).†

The named demons of the pure Veddas are few, and their propitiatory 776 ceremonies but two or three. Nevertheless, a half-Vedda devil-dancer of 796 Galmede gave me the names of a hundred devils, and unctuously expounded a demonology as involved as it was terrible; taking special delight in describing a dance in which men with hideous masks and jangling bells attached to deer-skin greaves, their bodies stained in imitation of blood, swayed great Vedda *audes* mounted on carved handles, and made the forest echo to thundering drum-beats and demoniac yells.

Of male demons there were:—(1) Tree demons of the *Na* and *Bo* tree; 776 seven to each tree in order of precedence: (2) Rock demons (*Gal-vanniyas*) named after various hills: (3) Flower demons (*Ravathath*): (4) *Bandara* demons; (5) *Vanniyas*—the spirits of four Veddas who were crushed to death in a cave by the fall of the rock overhead; with a shout of "ha" they were transformed into devils. Then there were innumerable female demons, a wife to each male demon (*Kalusalees*, *Peti-hanayas* and *Hanna-hanayas*).

From all this it will not be wondered at that the Veddas are highly 787 superstitious, and ascribe to many an ordinary incident of life supernatural significance. It is, for instance, an ill omen to meet a Buddhist priest or Moorman when setting out on a journey, or to knock the big toe against a stone or stump. Should a gekko cry when a plan is under discussion, or a blood-sucker‡ or Brahamin lizard fall on one, the portent is bad.

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*The Veddas seem to make no distinction between the words devil and spirit, [196] the term *yakka* being used for either; thus *Gal-Yakka* means rock-demon, *Nae-Yakka* ancestral spirit. *Hetha* also means spirit or devil and is, if anything, the more malevolent being. *Vanniya* is another word synonymous with *yakka* and *hetha*.

†The Veddas, by Seligmann; page 30.

‡A species of lizard.

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attributed to Sinhalese influence, especially the substitution of the mortar for the tripod, the drum for the slapping of hands and thighs, and the introduction of the coconut scraper and betel leaves. 535

The *kirikoraha* (milk-chatty)* dance has for its object the co-operation of certain ancestral spirits (*Nae Yakku*) in hunting enterprises. The occasion for it is a period of repeated ill luck, which is attributed to the disfavour of these spirits, whose names are, *Kande Yakka*, the great hunter, his brother *Bilinde Yakka* and their wives *Kudu Hora* (nest thief) and *Pol Hora* (coconut thief) respectively; also *Hath-kudu Hora* (seven-nests thief), elder brother of the two she demons. Significant signs in the ceremony are the fine bubbles that form when the coconut milk is handled, and the manner in which the coconut divides; if the halves are equal the omen is good, in unequal, bad. 535 796 [776] [787]

In a clearing was placed a mortar and on it a bowl containing a coconut with two arrows laid across the brim. Kaurala, the dancer, took care to eat no meat that morning. Having smeared his head with lime-juice and his body with saffron, he would have worn a white cloth borrowed for the purpose, had we not dissuaded him from covering his picturesque nudity, much to the disapproval of the other Veddas who feared the anger of the spirits invoked. [262]

The dance began quietly enough. Taking up the coconut and an arrow, the performer clasped them together in his hands which he placed now on the shoulder, now on the head, now well before him, as he walked round the mortar chanting a supplication to *Kande Yakka*. Soon he began hopping alternately on each heel, making half-turns with the body so characteristic of Vedda dances, and sweeping his arms semi-circularly. Gradually the monotonous song loudened to the drum-beats, and more and more vigorous became the contortions of the dancer, whose shaggy hair covered his face and whose body streamed with sweat. So he danced for perhaps a half hour, when suddenly he became as one possessed. *Kande Yakka* had "covered" him. Shouting the fearful name he staggered to the mortar and, bending over the bowl, split the coconut in halves. He stood by panting, while the coconut was scraped, the milk prepared, and seven betel leaves were arranged around the sides of the bowl, which was then replaced on the mortar with a single arrow across it. The other arrow, with a betel leaf transfixed in its point, was now in the hands of the dancer who holding it at both ends resumed his movements. *Bilinde Yakka*, the spirit next invoked, soon possessed him. The dance was then continued to each of the other spirits, male and female, in turn. By each of these he was successively possessed. With each possession the strange, wild-eyed figure before us, apparently oblivious of his surroundings, shouted the name of the mastering demon,† and threw lifeless hands on the shoulders of one or other of the onlookers as if for support. Eventually, when the frenzy was at its height, he had just breath enough to gasp out the inspired message that the spirits were propitious and success was assured‡. With his forearm he indicated the length of the quarry's horns and, pointing to the heavens, the favourable time for starting. Then, taking up the two arrows and the bowl containing the two halves of the coconut, the milk and the betel leaves, he danced

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*Coconut milk is the juice obtained by squeezing out with water the scraped kernel of the coconut.

†*Pana hiyenawa.*

‡*Hoey galgewara magalak alla thenawa.*

535 796 to all the spirits combined. Suddenly he stooped, twirled the chatty on the ground, and shouting "hooy", fell swooning into the arms of one who had for some time been waiting to catch him. The dance was over. He was artist enough to impart something of his wild fervour to his spectators.

224 The next day at the appointed hour we set out, the Veddas buoyed up with the certainty of success. We had not gone far when Kaurala, who was leading, suddenly levelled his gun (or rather mine) and fired. A fine buck bounded away.

"Cha", he said, examining the spot where the animal had stood; "now why did that animal not fall? So close too. That was the *kirikoraha* deer right enough; did you not see the horns?" When he discovered that he had fired the barrel containing small shot and not the bullet, he fell to cursing my gun.

782 224 Should an animal be killed after a *kirikoraha* ceremony an offering of boiled rice, with flesh from the head and chest, is made to the propitious spirits. Of this offering the hunters may themselves partake with a view to continuance of success.